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## THE ANGELL WILL CASE.

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To the medical jurist, no class of cases can be more interesting than that of wills involving questions of mental condition. In the litigation of a will, a wider range of inquiry is opened, a larger variety of relations is exposed, than is permitted or required in that of a crime or a contract. The investigation may extend over a life-time, and be pushed into the inmost recesses of the inner life. In no class of cases is there more needed a familiar acquaintance with the operations of the mind, sound as well as unsound, in order to reconcile seeming discrepancies of testimony, an extensive observation, to show the full significance of many a trait, and the tact, springing from long experience and sagacity, that can enable one to appreciate the nicer affections of mental competence that result from cerebral disturbance. In the following account of a will-case recently tried in this city, the psychologist will see a curious exhibition of mental obliquities, extending over the greater part of a long life, the jurist will see some old principles under new phases, and the general reader will be struck by many an incident which give the narrative an air of the strange and marvellous.

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In the year 1780, Joseph Angell was married to Desire Hopkins, daughter of that Commodore Hopkins who, in the Revolutionary war, dealt the first successful blow at the enemy on the water. The match was not a happy one. The husband proved improvident and dissipated, left his family, some seven or eight years after the marriage, and went to Maryland, where he engaged in teaching school. Their only child was a daughter, Eliza, the testatrix in this case, born in 1783. In 1790, the deserted wife, receiving neither aid nor comfort from her spouse, obtained a divorce, and in 1793 married Samuel Leonard, a prosperous widower, residing in Taunton, Mass., with three children by a former wife. By the last marriage there were two children, both of whom survived to adult age, Samuel and John B. The advent of the bride and her child into the family of her second husband, was not followed by the utmost harmony, and some hard feeling existed between the Angells and Leonards from the beginning to the end. In 1807, Mr. L. died, and in 1820 the widow with her own children moved back to this city. Two years afterwards, they came in possession of the Commodore Hopkins estate in North Providence, and there they resided ever after. In 1834, Samuel died; in 1843, the mother; in March, 1853, John; and on the 12th of October, 1860, the testatrix.

In 1846, both John and his sister made their wills, in which they bequeathed their property to each other. After the death of John, she was in possession of two considerable estates, one in Taunton, derived from her step-father, consisting of stores, and some land eligible for building in the outskirts of the town; and one in North Providence, consisting of the old homestead, a few tenements, a mill-privilege, and some 230 acres of unoccupied land, mostly suitable for building-lots. The former estate was taxed, when her will was made, at \$30,000, and the latter at \$75,000.

On the 25th of April, 1854, this lady executed her will, the validity of which is now contested. In this will she gives an annuity of \$100 to one of her poor relations, who died before her; an annuity of \$600 to a cousin residing in South Caro-

lina, and when she dies, an annuity of \$300 to each of her daughters while they remain single ; some gold watches which had belonged to her step-father, and a few other personal effects, such as pistols, rings, sleeve-buttons, to his grandchildren ; and directs her executor to appropriate to each of her step-father's two sons as much as he may deem necessary to make them comfortable, the amount not to exceed \$40 per month. In no other particular does she recognize the existence of relations. She gives to the town of North Providence a lot for a town-house, with certain conditions, which the town did not choose to accept. With these exceptions, all her property is given, in trust, to Rev. Dr. Wayland, late President of Brown University, Rev. Dr. Caswell, Professor in the same, and Rev. Dr. Granger, then minister of the First Baptist Church, and their successors, to be devoted by them to the erection of two Baptist Churches with parsonages attached, and the support of a minister in each. One is to be on her estate in Taunton, the other on her estate in North Providence, both "to be built of stone of suitable dimensions," in "a plain and substantial manner." In order to build and support the former church, she devotes one of the Taunton estates, called the Barney farm, to be let, mortgaged or sold, as the Trustees may deem best. To build and support the latter, she devotes all the rest of her property, after all charges upon the estate are paid. If the "rents, profits and proceeds," thereof "are not sufficient within a reasonable time to pay for the building of said last-mentioned church and parsonage," then the Trustees are directed to sell as much of her Taunton estate as may be necessary for this purpose. In no event, however, is any of the North Providence property to be sold. These objects being accomplished, the Trustees are directed to divide the residue of the "rents, income and profits" into three equal parts, one to be appropriated by them to "the support and education of the children, male and female, of orthodox Baptist ministers," one to "the support and education of the children, male and female, of orthodox Baptist missionaries," and the other to "the support and education of young men who are candidates for and intend to become min-

isters of the orthodox Baptist Church." The Trustees are to appoint their successors, and to appropriate from the funds of the estate "a reasonable compensation for their services."

On the 9th of July, 1855, she executed a codicil in which she bequeaths to the American Colonization Society "all estates and property of every kind and nature whatsoever, which may come to me directly by descent or devise from my father, Joseph Angell deceased, whether the same be situated in the State of Virginia or elsewhere."

This will was admitted to probate by the Probate Court, from which decision the heirs-at-law appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court. The case was tried in April, 1862, but the jury did not agree. The second trial in November next, was followed by the same result, but on the third, in May of the present year, the jury returned a verdict setting aside the will on the ground of insanity. The trials were all of unprecedented length, the longest occupying five weeks. In the matter of evidence, the trials were but a repetition of each other—certainly, in every essential point—and therefore, in making up this account, there seemed to be no impropriety in using the evidence, without referring precisely to the trial in which it appeared.

The first trial was before Chief Justice Ames; the second, before Mr. Justice Brayton; the last, before Mr. Justice Bullock. Counsel for the appellants, Blake, Mathewson, B. N. Lapham, C. M. Smith; for the appellees, Curry, C. I. Reed, of Taunton, W. H. Potter.

The testimony of the appellants disclosed many indications of mental disorder, the most prominent of which was the belief, without proof and against proof, that her father, who died within a few years after he left Providence, having married a widow supposed to be wealthy, a few months before his death, had left her a large estate, but of which her uncles, then living in Baltimore, had somehow got possession, and transmitted to their children. This belief she entertained during at least the last twenty years of her life. Against the children of these uncles—persons of the highest respectability, whom she



was in the habit of meeting frequently, and some of them familiarly—she made it a theme of bitter reproach, that they were living in ease and luxury on property that had been stolen from her. Whenever one of them showed a sign of prosperity, whether it was in building a block of stores, in putting children to school, or furnishing a house, she declared it was derived from her property. When one of them went South in the way of business, she declared it was for the purpose of visiting those plantations which rightfully belonged to her. All this she believed without a tittle of proof that her father left a single dollar behind him for her or anybody else. For a part of the time, at least, she had abundant proof that he died poor, and that the widow whom he married was almost as poor as he.

She also believed that her relations hated her, and had attempted, in various ways, to annoy and wrong her; and this belief she expressed to visitors, to servants, to chance acquaintances, and to her relations themselves, sometimes talking about it for hours together. No general expression can convey an adequate idea of the intensity of this feeling, and therefore we are obliged to refer particularly to statements made by witnesses, though these must be only a selection from a multitude like them. Several of her relations who were in habits of familiar intercourse with her for many years, declared that she frequently spoke of the wrongs and insults she had received from her relations. One, whose acquaintance with her was very intimate, said she was never with her an hour without hearing something from her on this subject. The same kind of discourse was held to other relatives, her charges of wrongdoing often being made against the parents, brothers or sisters, of the person she was addressing. A witness who rented a mill belonging to her brother, and who, in consequence, was in the habit of going to the house, and thus seeing her frequently, for seventeen years, said that the treatment she received from her relations was, from the beginning to the end, her constant theme, not even dropped on the evening when her brother was drawing his last breath in an adjacent room. A neighbor, whose acquaintance with her was still

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longer, said she was always imputing bad designs to her relations, and he never knew her to speak otherwise. Another, an eminent lawyer, whose acquaintance with her was chiefly confined to several visits he made her, some for the purpose of inducing her to make an exchange of land, which would be for their mutual benefit, and some for the purpose of persuading her to join him in a gift of land (their estates being contiguous) to an orphan asylum, the friends of which were seeking a site, said she would constantly fly from the subject and talk against her relatives, so that he was unable to accomplish anything. To the switchman at the station near her house, and a mechanic who rented one of her tenements, the shameful treatment she received from her relatives was the burden of her story. The wrongs and wrongful designs which she imputed to them, were cheating her out of her property, treating her or her brother discourteously, and making various attempts upon her own and her mother's life by poisoning or shooting.

That she was treated improperly by the sons of her stepfather, is not impossible, and thus she may have had good reason for hating them very cordially. With this exception she seems to have been treated by her relations respectfully, honorably and courteously, and often with great forbearance. Her feelings towards the descendants of those uncles who defrauded her, as she believed, were attributable, of course, to this delusion, one part of which was that these descendants were enjoying what they knew to be the fruits of iniquity. Towards some others, her feelings must have sprung solely from morbid suspicion and distrust.

As might have been expected, these delusions, existing, as they did, for many years, were accompanied by various other mental manifestations which are frequently observed in the insane, and are more or less characteristic of insanity. The most prominent were suspicions, if not fixed belief, of wrongdoing or wrong-intending, on the part of those with whom she was conversant, or who had been connected with her affairs. So many instances of this feeling appeared in evi-

dence, that our limits oblige us to make a selection, and that very limited. She declared that she had never received in full her share of her paternal grandfather's estate, charging the executor of his will, Moses Brown, a man distinguished in his day, as she well knew, for uprightness—with fraudulent practices in the settlement of the estate; and this not only without proof, but against proof. She also declared that she never received her share of her maternal grandfather's estate. She always believed that her step-father had been grossly defrauded by his clerks—men who for many years afterwards, enjoyed an unsullied reputation in the very community where all the parties were well known—who had made fortunes out of the estate. One of her neighbors—a gentleman of the highest respectability—she charged with unfairness in running the line between their respective lots. A Bleachery Company who had hired land of her, she charged wrongfully with fencing in more land than they were entitled to, and with laying pipes to take water from her springs. So strongly had this last notion taken possession of her mind, that she directed her servants to dig down and cut off the pipes, where there was no indication of the ground having been disturbed for many years. When she saw the Railway people repairing the line fence, she would charge them with moving the fence in upon her land, and sometimes, even when they were at work on the track, and not on the fence at all. She told one witness that everybody wanted to rob her, except her milkman. In talking with another about a suitable person to manage her affairs, after her brother's death, she said she could trust nobody. At one period she was in the habit of locking her servants in their rooms at night. Once, on going to bed, she found a window open which she had directed a servant to close, and declared it was left open purposely to let in her relatives. She said the same respecting an outside door she once found open in the morning. Coming home late one evening she found her gate locked, according to her own direction, and afterwards recorded in her diary, her conviction that it was done purposely to annoy her. In her diary she writes, "my poor cat has been missing ever since last Tues-



day, killed *because my cat*, I suppose. She is all I had left of former days." She thought it strange that a certain one of her relatives, a young woman who frequently staid with her several days together, should express a desire to be rich, and said she felt afraid of her. During the latter years of her life, she manifested great distrust of her servants. She said they always wanted to rob her. Three of them stated that it was her practice to lock them up in their rooms over night. Having disagreed with the man who had taken charge of her place, and dissolved the connection, she sat up a part, if not the whole of the night before he went away, apprehending harm. When it was suggested to her that she should have a man sleeping in the house, she replied that she would feel safer alone. A witness stated that during a visit of a few weeks which she made her, it was her practice to close the shutters before the lamps were lighted. She stopped her paper, the *Christian Watchman*, the organ of the Baptists in New England, because they charged her fifty cents more than any other subscriber, and she pronounced it a cheating concern. Within a year or two of her death, a couple of ladies, one of them a distant connection of the family, called on her and were courteously received. The conversation having turned on her lonely situation, they asked if she was not afraid of being molested. She replied that she had nothing to tempt burglars, when they asked if she had none of the Leonard plate in the house. Her whole manner changed instantly, and she told them, with some warmth, that if they had no better purpose, in calling, than to try to find out how much plate she had they had better go along, as they did immediately.

Intimately connected with this spirit of suspicion and distrust, was a disposition to charge the people around her with stealing and injuring her property. Among others thus charged, was one extensively known and regarded as preëminently honest and just—a leading member and preacher of the Society of Friends. He had hired her place, and had much occasion, of course, to handle her property. Him she charged with stealing her asparagus, currant bushes, strawberry plants,

lilacs, loam, and some planks for firewood. Another, who had hired the place, she charged with stealing wood, tearing up the barn-floor, pushing down five or six rods of fence, and not feeding the cow. She also said he stole her key and filled the key-holes with sand. She charged the man who milked her cow with taking more than his share. Being unable to find some papers which had been in her possession, she declared they were stolen, though they were afterwards found in the hands of her lawyer, where she had placed them herself, or some one on her behalf. One of her poor relations, whom she was in the habit, for years, of sending for in all domestic straits, she charged with dishonesty. To one witness she declared she could keep no food in the house, because the servants stole it, and said that one of them stole her sheets and cut them up into night-clothes with an ax, on the barn-floor. Two of her servants testified that she charged them with stealing, and examined their clothes when they left. Her neighbors, she charged with stealing her chickens, and taking boards and shingles from her barn.

The idea of being poisoned seems to have been very familiar to her mind. She often stated that when they lived in Taunton, the children of her step-father by his first wife poisoned the well and the coffee, and placed on the window-sill and other parts of the house, a white powder, which she believed to be poison. She also charged them with attempting to get rid of their young half-brothers, (children of her mother,) by offering them hot punch, in which poison was put. John, she said, did not drink it, but Sam did, was very ill, and died in consequence, some twenty-five years afterwards. Among the witnesses were many relatives, and they all concurred in the statement that she never ate or drank in the houses of her relatives, and that when she accompanied them on excursions, she would never partake of the refreshments they carried with them. The reason she gave for it was, that she was afraid of being poisoned. The same apprehensions were manifested in regard to her house-servants, and the people whom she employed to manage her place. She refused to eat some

sweet corn which one of the latter sent her, saying she would eat nothing he might send in, adding that she once drank some cider he sent in, and was made sick by it. She suspected, if she did not really believe, that her well had been poisoned by the Quaker preacher, then living on the place. She was in the habit, at one time, of locking up her coffee-pot over night, for fear of her servants poisoning it at the instigation of her relatives. The same relative who frightened her by expressing a desire to be rich, she suspected of poisoning the food. A woman who had been employed by her as a servant for a little while, subsequently came to draw water from her well. She imbibed the notion that this woman came for the purpose of poisoning the water, and so strong was this belief, that within twenty hours of her death, when prostrated by a shock of paralysis, and unable to articulate, she wrote on a slate, "woman came to draw water," alluding to a statement she had previously made to the witness, that Mrs. P. had come to draw water and had poisoned the well.

Several instances of that kind of fancied insult so characteristic of the insane, appeared in evidence. She said that, one day, when approaching the house of her cousins, the Misses G., with whom she had been for some years on friendly terms, some one came to the window and shut the blinds. This she considered a deliberate insult, and never entered the house again for the rest of her life—nearly twenty-five years. Once the wife of another cousin grossly insulted her, she said, by a look—"such a look as she should not forget to the last day of her life." In both cases, the strongest disclaimers were made of any wish or thought to insult her, but without affecting her belief.

One instance, at least, was related of that disregard of moral propriety, not unfrequently observed in the insane, even those who, to the casual observer, still retain their sense of moral obligation. Once, a year or two before her death, she engaged a man to watch her grounds by night, and, when about proceeding to his duty, put into his hands two pistols, and charged him to shoot down the first person or beast that

came on the grounds—she would hold him harmless. He, of course, declined the duty.

Several instances were related of that common trait of insanity—the inability to appreciate the true relation between means and end. A witness, whose duties made him acquainted with the sick and destitute in her part of the town, was requested by her to bring such cases to her knowledge, that she might send them something. A suitable case occurring—that of a poor woman in the last stage of consumption, with a couple of children who could not attend the Sunday school for want of clothes—he told her of it, reminding her of the request she had made. On leaving, she handed him something wrapped up in a bit of rag, which was found to be five little pickled cucumbers. At another time she sent by her servant, four cold potatoes to a woman in consumption. Living in a district supposed to be rather lawless, she naturally thought of protecting herself by means of fire-arms, but instead of keeping a single reliable weapon within reach, as sane people would, she was in the habit, for several weeks at least, towards the close of her life, of sleeping with a six-barrel revolver under her pillow, two old pistols at the foot of the bed, another on a stand by the bedside—an arrangement far more likely to harm herself than any body else. And these pistols she insisted on having reloaded every four or five weeks, though assured by the gun-smith repeatedly, that it was unnecessary to have it done so often.

The idea of shooting or being shot, not unfrequently occupied her mind, from an early period. She once brought a pistol to a female friend, and endeavored to persuade her to learn to use it, and once fired a pistol out of the window, as she said, at some fancied intruder. A story she often told was, that on a journey to South Carolina, in early life, she observed on board the steamer, a man who watched her, and kept near her for several days, until, his coat blowing open, she caught sight of a pistol sticking out of his pocket, when she got frightened and went below. This man she believed to be Commodore Barney, a relative, whose nephews were claimants with herself and many others, for an English estate then

in chancery, who designed to shoot her in order to better the claim of his nephews. During the last fifteen or twenty years of her life, she was fond of telling a story of a man coming to her door, and snapping a pistol at her as she opened it. This story was told with many variations. Sometimes it was a man whom she had seen for several days loitering near the house, and sometimes it was a horseman. Sometimes it was a servant, and sometimes herself, that went to the door. Sometimes he only presented his pistol, when she said she also had a pistol, and turned to get it, when he was scared and went off. At first she did not pretend to know who it was, but latterly she always said it was the son of one of her cousins, instigated by other relatives to put her out of the way.

There was much evidence proving that fickleness of purpose so common with the insane. The people whom she employed in one way or another, spoke much of this troublesome trait. Once she engaged a man to take the wood from a certain lot at a stated price per acre, but when he had nearly finished, she forbade him cutting more, or carrying away what remained on the ground. He agreed to this, on being paid for what he had cut. Afterward she got him to take away what he had cut, though at a quarter of a dollar less than by the terms of the original contract. Another was engaged to clear up a piece of swamp covered with a growth of brush and small trees, all of which he was to have for his labor. He went to work, but before he had got to that part which would afford any remuneration for his pains, she stopped him and gave the job to another. Thinking a brood of newly hatched chickens would suffer from the rain, she had them taken from the hen and put into the kitchen sink. Soon, however, she imagined they would suffer from the heat indoors, and had them taken back to the hen. Again she changed her mind, and directed them to be brought back to the kitchen. Exactly how many times the change was made, the witness could not say. The same trait was exhibited in regard to the work of her domestic servants, several of whom testified that she frequently changed their work without any reason.



Some of the reasons which she gave for her belief in the great Virginia estate, are strikingly illustrative of the ways of the insane mind. She said, that, when a young girl, she occasionally met in the street a servant woman who would exclaim when passing, "poor child, what a pity she could not have her rights;" that a lawyer once said, alluding to her claims on the English property, that if she wanted property, she could find it nearer home than England; that a relative of hers, one of the Angell family, once came to her, she said, greatly exercised about a question of conscience, viz: whether, if she knew of property in the hands of persons that had no right to it, it would be her duty to disclose it, and thus bring disgrace on near relatives, such as a father or mother, or a friend; that once her uncle Thomas began to talk to her about property, saying that he knew of her having property in the hands of some persons from whom she could not obtain it, and when he had thus excited her suspicions, she questioned him further, but his mouth was shut. Whether all or any of these incidents ever occurred as related, or were magnified out of some trivial expressions, of course we have no means of knowing. It is not improbable that they were all the mere coinage of a distempered mind.

Some facts in her domestic management might be paralleled in that of many an insane person. A cousin, accompanied by her husband, made her a visit and spent the night, Miss A. lighting them up stairs, putting them into different rooms, and locking the doors. Many years after, this same cousin called upon her about eleven o'clock, but found her just ready to go into town. Miss A. invited her to stay until she returned, directing another cousin then staying with her, not to get dinner in the mean time. Late in the evening she made her appearance, seemed surprised to find her cousin there, and invited her very plainly to find a lodging somewhere else. She refused to leave the house at that late hour, and was sent off to bed in the dark, without dinner or supper. At breakfast next morning, they had nothing to eat but rye and indian cake, and a very small bit of butter. Another, who resided in Maine, in the course of a visit to Providence, was

invited to dine with her, and she found the dinner scanty and the table-cloth ragged. A servant stated, that, there being only three in the house, she bought at one time fifty scup, half a dozen of which would have been an ample dinner for them all. At another, she bought a large turkey, and at another a large goose, both of which spoiled before they were half eaten. One witness spoke of her getting a quarter of veal, and at another time, a side of pork, all of which, except a part of the pork which was salted, spoiled before they attempted to eat it. Two or three witnesses saw her getting breakfast by a fire of green wood.

Several witnesses testified to a disregard of little proprieties and observances, which, in some degree, is almost universal with the insane. She would express her sentiments respecting her relatives, not only to those who would naturally be interested in them, but to her servants, and to people but little known to her, and often, during one winter at least, at the table of a public boarding-house. A witness once saw her near her mill-dam—about half a mile from her house—  
—with a calash on her head and flour on her black dress, looking “dirty and miserable,” with a troop of boys teasing her. The same witness once saw her, when chasing some cows, dash through a pool of water that laid between them. Another once found her in high altercation with her farmer, her hair down and dress open, and he led her away into the house. Another spoke of finding her in the road near her house, with her head bare, hair flying in all directions, and no shawl on.

There seems to have been occasionally a failure of the perceptive power, not so much indicative of mania, as of impending trouble in the brain. One of her tenants said, that having paid his quarter’s rent, on one occasion, he recollected, a moment or two after leaving the house, that he had omitted speaking about some repairs, and returned for that purpose. Scarcely three minutes had elapsed, but she did not recognize him, and he found it difficult to make her understand who he was. Subsequently, she mistook him for the carpenter who

shingled her house, and complained that he had done the work badly. He explained, but she repeated the mistake several times afterwards. Once, having engaged a man to cut some hay, she came down, in the course of the day, to see how the work was going on. The switchman, whose station was near by, said he walked towards her and that they met but a few steps from the workmen, she crying out, "what are they doing? why, they are plowing up my meadow; what shall I do?" He told her that they were only raking up the hay with a hay-rake, and it was all right. She kept on crying out, "what shall I do, they are plowing up my meadow?" and rushed into the field and ordered the people to stop. They gave no heed to her, and she started towards the city, saying she would tell Judge S. The witness said she was not more than twenty feet from the hay-rake.

Twice there seem to have been hallucinations within the last year or two of her life. Once, she said she had smelt chloroform three nights in succession, but it was in proof that there was none in the house. Shortly before her death, she awoke in the middle of the night, as she stated, and found Mrs. P.,—the woman who poisoned the well—standing over her.

She manifested much of that curious inconsistency which constitutes so common and so remarkable a feature of insanity. Among the friends and associates of her brother was her cousin, W. M. B. They were much together, and every day interchanging tokens of kindness and good will. On his death-bed, the brother took his friend by the hand, the sister standing by, and asked him, as his last request, if he would continue to do for her as he had for him. For seven years he continued to visit her almost daily, and perform for her some little office of kindness or care. He settled difficulties with her servants and tenants, renewed insurance on her tenements, and often paid the premium himself, to save her the trouble, lent her money, advised her in the management of her affairs, and by countless services of this kind endeavored to redeem the promise made to her brother. And yet, a year or two

before she died, she declared to one of her fellow-boarders that W. M. B. would as lief murder her as not, and had instigated a man to come to her house and shoot her. Once, at her own request, W. M. B. engaged a woman to go to the house and render such services as she could. This she did for several weeks, being treated by Miss A. courteously and confidentially. Yet, to this very woman she said that W. M. B. visited her as a spy, and was at the head of the conspiracy against her. After urgently inviting Mrs. K., the mother of W. M. B., to visit her according to her usual custom, when she came to town, she said that Mrs. K. came as a spy for the Gs. Her vehement desire to see the churches built in her own life-time, and the utter uselessness of her land, except to be sold, were sufficient reasons to induce her to advertise the land as she did, and sell at a fair price as she did not. She was never willing to set her price, and persons desirous of buying, went away convinced that she did not wish to sell. Fair prices were offered, and those in whom she had most confidence, advised her to accept the offers, but with one or two trifling exceptions, she sold no land in North Providence. She gave as a reason for refusing to name her price, that the assessors would hear of it, and the next year they would increase her taxes.

Of all the fancies which this woman adopted, it did not appear in evidence that she ever relinquished one to the weight of the most abundant proof. Many instances, on the contrary, appeared of her persisting to believe them as veritable truths, in spite of proofs sufficient to convince any sane mind. The dying request of her brother to W. M. B. has been already noticed. Shortly after that scene, she reported that this gentleman refused to assent to this request, and though he assured her she was mistaken, and offered in proof of it the attentions and services he had since rendered, yet she was unconvinced and continued to circulate the report. She believed that this gentleman must have obtained some of her Virginia property, on the ground that he could not otherwise have built a block of stores, and done some other things; and though he explained to her the origin of all his property, she was uncon-

vinced. His mother, too, she believed to be indulging in a style of living which her husband's salary, as a college professor, could not support, and therefore *she* must be enjoying her Virginia property. The amplest proof failed to disabuse her of a notion which was founded on mere rumor, for she had never been in this lady's house. The same sort of charges were made against his brother, then a Professor at West Point, on the same sort of foundation, and with the same resistance to proof. She harped upon certain furniture which W. G. had sent from Baltimore to this gentleman's grandfather, and though he showed her the original account of his grandfather as trustee of W. G.'s wife, in which he had credited himself with this furniture, she was faithless, and continued to believe as firmly as ever that the old carpet and andirons were part of the spoil of her father's estate. And so with her belief that she had been wronged in the settlement of her grandfather A.'s estate. To her he bequeathed two hundred silver dollars, but the executors, for good and sufficient reasons which were approved at the time by her uncles and aunts, set off to her a certain lot of land in lieu of the dollars. When the formal statement of the executors, which had been put on record, was shown to her, as well as an extract from their accounts explaining fully the transaction, she coolly replied that she knew all that before, and kept on saying to the last year of her life, that she had been wronged in the settlement of her grandfather A.'s estate by Moses Brown, whose name, long after his death, was a synonym for all manner of uprightness in this community. A year or two before she died, she sent for a neighbor, J. W., to come and cut up an apple-tree which she said G.,—the man who had hired her place for the year—had cut down with the intention of carrying away. He assured her that the tree had blown down, and that any one could see that it had rotted off nearly, and showed no marks of an axe. Another person, besides G. himself, said the same. But she insisted on having the tree cut up and put into the cellar, and when the door was shut and locked, she exclaimed, "I guess G. can't get it now," and continued to tell the story of G.'s cutting down her apple-tree.



At last, on the 11th of October, 1860, this lady was struck down by that common sequel of chronic insanity—paralysis—which finished her life the next day.

The testimony disclosed many other indications of mental obliquity sufficient to swell this article to the dimensions of a volume. It was necessary to make a selection, and though the most prominent ones have been taken, yet many others less striking to the casual observer, are not less significant to those conversant with mental disease. In stating the above facts, it has been my endeavor to adhere strictly to the evidence—its letter as well as its spirit—avoiding every word or turn of expression which would tend to give it a higher coloring than the exact words of the witness would bear.

All the testimony was carefully heard on the first trial by the writer, and on the second trial by him and by Dr. Tyler, of the McLean Asylum, while on the third it was heard only by the writer, and they unhesitatingly expressed the opinion that the testatrix was insane when she made the will and codicils. By them the belief that her relatives hated her and were ready to annoy and wrong her, and the belief that her father left her a large estate in Virginia, of which her relations had defrauded her, were regarded as pure delusions, which, in connection with the suspicions, the notion of being poisoned, the indiscriminate charges of stealing, the breaches of propriety, the insensibility to argument, the fancied insults, the hallucinations, &c., constituted an actual case of insanity, presenting nothing strange or extraordinary, as compared with the usual exhibitions of the disease.

To meet this clear and abundant proof of insanity, the other side produced many witnesses from various walks of life, who, on the strength of more or less intercourse with the testatrix, declared that they saw nothing strange or unusual in her conduct or conversation; they contended that the will was a rational act, rationally done; and endeavored to show that her notions respecting her relatives, her Virginia property, and some other fancies, had some foundation in fact, sufficient for a credulous, suspicious mind, and therefore could be justly regarded as mistakes, not delusions. The weakness of these

several positions will be made apparent by a little examination of the evidence, and of the phenomena of insanity.

A lawyer wrote her will; another was her adviser and friend, from the death of her brother to her own; two or three physicians had casually met her, one at her house, on the occasion of the sickness of some member of the family, and another, as well as an ex-judge of the Supreme Court, in the parlor of a Saratoga hotel; several clergymen had conferred with her on the subject of missionary efforts, of plans for the religious teaching of the people in her neighborhood, and of contributions to a fund for educating young men; charitable and religious men sometimes found her zealous and liberal when appealed to for aid and coöperation; a dealer in real estate conversed with her about selling her land; a grocer sold her groceries, and a bookseller books, and she paid them promptly. And finally, passing by others whose acquaintance with her was very casual, a gentleman whose long and honorable career as a leading minister in his denomination, as a president of a college, and a writer on education and mental science, have made his name familiar as household words, was intimately acquainted with her for many years, and conceived a high regard and respect for her—these persons, one and all, declared that they never saw anything “strange or unusual in her conduct or conversation, dress or demeanor.” To those practically conversant with the insane, it would be a waste of words to prove that such a fact is not incompatible with the existence of insanity. Having her delusions somewhat under her control, it is not strange that she refrained from introducing them when in the company of certain persons, especially those whose position would naturally forbid discourse of any kind on family difficulties. It was in the retirement of home, in the abandon of familiar intercourse with servants, relatives and neighbors, that she would chiefly give vent to her belief and her feelings respecting her relatives and their unprincipled conduct. Occasionally, however, as the evidence shows, the proprieties of place and person were disregarded, and her complaints were poured into the ears of a very different class of people. In fact, the gentleman last referred to, and two

or three others who came to the same conclusion, admitted that she spoke to them harshly about her relations, but that they, feeling no interest in the subject, paid but little attention to what she said. If they had encouraged her to go on, they might, possibly, have observed something strange or unusual in her conversation. That she had some self-control is obvious from the fact stated by many witnesses, that when talking with them on her favorite theme, she would stop the moment her brother John made his appearance, because she knew such talk annoyed him exceedingly, he having no faith in her fancies, as he called them. Neither was her interest in religious enterprises, nor the character of her own religious sentiments, incompatible with the existence of delusion, for if correct and clear on any subject, as she might be in the form of insanity alleged, it is not surprising that she was so in regard to them.

To meet directly the evidence which seemed to establish the existence of insanity beyond a doubt, the attempt was made to explain some of the facts so as to make them not incompatible with perfect sanity. Her feelings towards her step-father's family, it is said, were justified by their treatment of herself and mother. That she might have been treated coldly, even discourteously by the older children, is not unlikely. It would not have been a very strange or extraordinary event; nor would it have been surprising had she spoken unkindly of them and avoided all intercourse, for such would have been the course of an aggrieved, but rational mind. In the true spirit of insanity, however, without the slightest color of proof, and against all reasonable supposition, she persists, through her whole life, in charging them with various attempts to kill her by poisoning the well, by poisoning the food, and by putting poison about the house; in charging them with actually poisoning one brother and intending to poison the other. Between the alleged fact that they treated her disrespectfully, and her conclusion that they meant to take her life, there is all the interval that separates sanity from insanity. To other relations, she attributed the same designs, though there was not a tittle of evidence to show unkind feel-

ings or improper conduct towards her. Some were poor and dependent, coming and going at her call; others, with a reputation in the community which should have placed them beyond suspicion, and all, without exception, treating her courteously and kindly. In regard to one family, she offered a reason for her dislike—a reason which had no other foundation than her own disordered imagination.

The other main delusion—that of having inherited from her father a large property in Virginia, of which she had been defrauded by her uncles and their descendants—had a reasonable foundation, it was contended, in actual facts. In order to make this explanation intelligible, it will be necessary to state some facts connected with this delusion. In 1796, a letter was received in Providence from her uncle James, then living in Baltimore, in which he speaks, among other things, of his brother Joseph, father of the testatrix, “who died,” he says, (“or rather I am inclined to think from reports, was poisoned by his wife,) near Moorfield, in Virginia, a few months since.” In a postscript he returns to the matter: “Joseph,” he says, “had married a widow in Virginia, possessed of an estate worth a considerable sum of money, which she held in her own possession at the death of her former husband, subject to her control. From what I can learn, there were marriage articles (or something like it) between them. He desired on his death-bed, (so report says,) that his body might be opened, as he suspected foul play. The corpse was in consequence arrested on its way to the place of burial, and no person appearing to push the business, supposing he had not a relative in America, it was interred without inspection, nor, but for that circumstance should I have ever heard of it. I have, however, engaged a friend who lives in Moorfield, to procure a copy of the agreement, (will if there is any) and from whom I soon expect to hear. That there is property there that his heirs will inherit, I have no doubt, but whether it will fall to me as elder brother, I cannot say.”

The contents of this letter became known, no doubt, to the testatrix and her mother. The latter, naturally enough, would not care to cherish the memory of her divorced husband, and

the former, then but thirteen years old, would scarcely remember all the particulars of this letter. At a later period of life, she became desirous of knowing the exact circumstances of her father's death. Whether this letter was in existence, she knew not, nor where to seek for information about it.

In 1836 she ascertained that one of her relatives had in his possession many old family letters and other papers, and at her request they were given to her. Among them she found about a dozen letters written from Baltimore in 1792 by her uncle W. G. to another uncle, J. W., then in Providence. The burden of these letters is, that he is trying to settle up his business and go to the north; that he wants his brother-in-law to buy him a farm and provide stock, carriages, seeds, &c. In almost every letter he speaks of having in his hands funds belonging to "Eliza," which he is desirous of investing in connection with his own, or in a separate property. In one of them he says, "I have a small sum of money, the property of Eliza, (which is accumulating, though it is *lying idle*,) that I wish to make the foundation of a purchase for her, that will be productive *now*, *secure the money*, and facilitate my plans. If any advantageous small *spec* can be made for her, I should be glad." In a previous letter, he says, "if the Colonel will sell his contiguous land reasonable, I would endeavor to purchase it for Eliza. \* \* \* You must know I can devote this money to no other use than purchasing property for Eliza, as her funds must pay for the land." This is a fair specimen of the references to Eliza in these letters. Had she seen no more, she might have had ground for a faint suspicion that she was the person referred to, and consequently that her father, who, she knew, did actually die about that time, had already deceased and left to her a trifle of property, which, by some means or other, had come into the possession of her uncle. But these very letters contained unequivocal evidence that the facts she suspected were, some of them false, and others impossible. In one of them her uncle speaks of making this investment "for a little daughter," and she might have known, had she inquired, that he had a daughter named Ann Eliza. Indeed, that fact appears in one of the letters. More than



this, she found in them mention of her own father as then living. Mr. G. says, "I have just received intelligence from Berkely that Joseph [her father] keeps school, and behaves soberly and discreetly. He has twenty scholars, and appears and acts reputably. God grant it may last." Subsequently, his wife says, in a letter to Mrs. W., "brother Joseph has established a school of twenty scholars, and attends it with great sobriety and diligence." And thus it was that the casual mention of a family name in connection with money, set that disordered cord in vibration, and under its influence, without proof and against proof, in the true spirit of insanity, she arrives at the monstrous conclusion that her father, while yet in the flesh, had died, leaving her a large property which he had acquired by his second marriage; that her uncles had fraudulently got possession of it; that their descendants, though above suspicion in their respective communities, were living upon it, and cognizant of the wrong; and, that they might enjoy, undisturbed, the fruits of the wrong, were instigating attempts upon her life. If this is not delusion—gross, unequivocal, baseless delusion—I know not what delusion is.

In 1855 she obtained possession of the original letter of her uncle James, in which he communicated the fact of her father's death, and from that she learned that he died some four or five years subsequent to the writing of those letters in which "Eliza's guineas" are mentioned. Yet, not one jot did she relinquish of her faith in that strong belief that her uncles had cheated her out of her father's estate. She proclaimed it far and wide, and triumphantly appealed, for the truth of her story, to these old letters about "Eliza's guineas," written some three or four years before he died, or was even married.

In 1857 she employed the person named as executor of her will, to pursue some inquiries into the circumstances of her father's marriage and death, and of the property he left. These inquiries were very satisfactorily answered, and among the papers obtained were copies of the inventories, both of the effects which he left, and of the property which his wife possessed when they were married. From these it appeared that the value of all their possessions, consisting of clothing, household

furniture and stock, amounted to just £99, 7s. 9d. Of a small parcel of land in that region, they had made a conveyance, for a few shillings the acre, but the deed was not perfected. She was now assured by her executor, whose professional and social position warranted the utmost confidence in his judgment, and in whom, in fact, she had placed more confidence than in anybody else, that she had not the shadow of a claim upon any property left by her father, and that she ought to abandon the notion forever. She did no such thing. She treated these proofs precisely as all insane persons treat the proofs of their delusions—precisely as she had treated the most conclusive proofs of other delusions. She continued to believe in this great Virginia property, and even more earnestly than ever. The testamentary disposition she had made of it two or three years before, she suffered to stand, and once at least, within a few months of her decease, she declared to a witness her conviction that she would finally obtain that property. Up to the very last, she declared to one and another that the children of those uncles were living on her property, and seeking her life. It was never a matter of suspicion or doubt, but always, from first to last, through a series of twenty-years or more, a matter of intense, unwavering belief.

In reply to all this, the appellees say that she did not suppose the "Eliza's guineas" to have been a legacy from her father, but money entrusted by her father to her uncle, to be invested for her benefit, but which he appropriated to himself. Believing this, the next step very naturally taken, was to believe that after her father's death, this same uncle had got possession of the large estate which he had bequeathed to her. These two conclusions, they allege, were the result of a highly suspicious, distrustful temper, which, belonging to the natural constitution of her mind, cannot be regarded as an indication of insanity. This explanation scarcely helps them. Were the mental process precisely as they state, it shows a gross suspicion without the slightest foundation in fact, growing out of another suspicion about as baseless as the other. But in neither case was it a mere suspicion—it was a fixed, positive, unwavering belief, maintained to her dying day.

After the conclusive evidence obtained by the executor, that her father left her nothing, then, certainly, her continued belief in the great property, was undeniably a delusion. It may be justly asked when this notion ceased to be a suspicion, and began to be a delusion. Was it at the very moment when this evidence was placed before her? If so, then it appears that while the facts in the case were somewhat doubtful and obscure, she merely suspected fraud, but when all doubt was removed and the fact of her father's poverty conclusively established, she believed it! Of course, long before that time, probably from the very hour when she first read those old letters, she believed it as firmly as she ever did afterwards. Unquestionably, a very suspicious person may suspect many improbable things, with little or no proof, but the moment he believes them, he is under a delusion. It is this confounding of two essentially different states of mind—suspicion and belief—which makes the explanation of the appellees utterly fallacious.

The attempt was made to explain away other things, which were regarded as incidents of insanity. The executor alluded to her refusal to eat at the table of her relations, and remarked that "she was terribly afraid of other people's dirt." This statement, whether it originated with him or her, hardly helps the matter, considering what manner of persons those relations are, and the fact that she often dined at a hotel, and for several summers in succession, spent a week or two at Saratoga. She kept pistols in her room, because, it was alleged, she lived in a lawless sort of district, and one or two of her neighbors were put upon the stand to testify that they also kept pistols in the house. This was an evasion of the true issue. It was not the fact of being armed which was regarded as indicative of insanity, but the manner in which this matter was managed. A sane person would have done just what her neighbors did—put a loaded revolver under her pillow or within reach, and been satisfied. She, on the contrary, makes a perfect arsenal of her room—a six-barrelled revolver under her head, an old horse-pistol on each side, and another at the

foot of the bed, as if this multiplicity of weapons were any better than one! as if they were not more likely to harm herself or her servants than any unwary burglar! And these implements of destruction must be taken to the gunsmith's every four or five weeks, to have the charges drawn and be reloaded. Perhaps there was no single incident of this woman's life more characteristic of insanity, than this lack of all true relation between the means and the end of self-protection. Her charges of stealing, so often and so earnestly made against the honest old Quaker who lived a year or two on her place, the same witness accounted for by the fact that the testatrix was opposed to all agricultural improvements, and wanted everything to remain just as they were in her mother's time. He thought differently, and so he scraped the trees, trimmed the currant-bushes, reset the strawberry beds, &c. She thus lost sight of many familiar objects which she thought must have been stolen. If she really came to her conclusions in this manner, the fact is not very creditable to her sagacity, and it is scarcely conceivable how any sane person could make such a mistake—to attribute improvements like those to petty larceny. Such a process of thought, however, is very characteristic of insanity. In order to explain away her belief that her step-father's clerks had defrauded him, it was alleged that such a village rumor prevailed at the time, nearly sixty years ago, and therefore that it was not strange she should entertain the same notion. But this is not sufficient. What was, with others, an idle rumor seriously believed by nobody, was, with her, a matter of earnest belief, and repeated to the discredit of persons who, for half a century, in many relations of life, social and business, had maintained an unsullied reputation.

The manner in which she undertakes to accomplish her designs, shows no indication of insanity; but one would hardly appeal to it as a proof of a clear and vigorous mind. The greater part of her estate in North Providence consists of unoccupied land, valuable only for building purposes. Situated on the very border of a considerable and growing city, it would naturally be sought, while the abundance of

other land similarly situated would prevent it being taken, except in the most satisfactory way. As long as equally eligible land can be obtained by purchase—and that, to all human foresight, will be for many years to come—this will not be leased advantageously, except, perhaps, for a term so long as to practically defeat one of the conditions of the will. Eventually, perhaps, it may become valuable, even for leasing; but between the loss of interest on one side, and taxation upon its market value on the other, its whole worth may have been sunk, long before that time. And yet she refused to sell during her life, while land was up and her neighbors were selling; and in her will forbids the sale of a single acre, even for the accomplishment of her plans. Through all coming time, this estate must remain in the hands of the Trustees, who, while invested with unlimited discretion in everything else, are allowed no discretion at all in a matter where they needed it most. This may be wisdom, but it looks very much like consummate folly.

These Trustees, too, are not required to give bonds; they are made responsible to nobody, and they are allowed to compensate themselves for their services. Not a single provision is made for preventing an abuse of the trust, or stopping it after it may occur. Instead of guarding, in every possible way, against the usual fate of such trusts—a fate that was most distinctly pointed out to her by her most confidential advisers—the dispositions of the testatrix would seem to have been made expressly for the purpose of inviting it.

So far, indeed, the will presents no conclusive proof of mental incompetence; but the codicil, executed a few months subsequently, reveals a strong, striking delusion, calculated, beyond all others, to annul her testamentary capacity. There, deliberately and solemnly, she puts upon record her belief in that great Virginia property which, she was in the habit of declaring, was left by her father and purloined by her relations. True, at that time, she had probably found the letter of her uncle, giving an account of her father's decease, and expressing the suspicion that he had left property. This might have warranted her, even, in indulging the same sus-



picion that her uncle had sixty years before, and in making it the basis of a testamentary bequest. But not long after, the inquiries of her executor removed every ground of suspicion, and furnished irresistible proof that her father left her nothing, because he had nothing to leave. Did she thereupon revoke that codicil? Certainly not. Her declarations to witnesses show that she believed this notion of the Virginia property to the very last. The idea of property in the moon could not have been more indicative of folly.

True, the executor testified that this codicil was made at his suggestion, in order to preclude all claims from any heir-at-law who might possibly share her belief that she had property in Virginia, and thus to save himself from future annoyances. The executor's course in the matter implied no opinion, necessarily, respecting the character of this bequest. For even if he had then believed as firmly as he did after his inquiries, that her father left nothing whatever, he might still have advised the codicil, because he could not be sure that some one might not have got the impression that the testatrix had a good claim upon property in Virginia. However that may be, the essential fact is not affected. Her willingness to accept the codicil implies the existence of the belief on her part, and, therefore, it is immaterial whether it originated with herself or her executor. Whether any possible benefit from it could compensate for the legal consequences of this formal recognition of a palpable delusion, is a question which naturally arises, but which I need not discuss, because not exactly within my province. One cannot but have an opinion, however, respecting it.

The next point put forth by the appellees was much stronger apparently, but it lacked the essential element of strength—a substantial foundation. The will, they alleged, is a rational act, rationally done, for a purpose worthy of the soundest reason, and under the most sacred of human obligations. Several of the witnesses—men whose position and whose relations to her might be supposed to have procured for their opinions on such a subject some deference—stated that when they objected to this disposition of her property, and tried to

convince her that it would ultimately fail of its purpose, as all, other religious trust-funds had, her invariable reply was, that it was in accordance with the expressed wishes of her brother; that the object nearest and dearest to his heart was to establish and endow Baptist churches; that she felt bound by an imperative obligation to carry his wishes into effect, and consequently had no choice.

Unquestionably, if she had promised her brother so to dispose of the property obtained from him, such a will should be regarded as valid, in morals, if not in law. He had a right to exact such a condition, and she was bound to observe it. But as it regards her own property—that which came from other sources than him—it was all very different. Her disposal of that must be bound by the usual conditions of a testamentary bequest. She could neither promise to dispose of it in a certain way, nor carry such a promise into effect, unless possessed of testamentary capacity.

As to the promise itself, on which so much stress was laid by herself and her counsel, it is to be considered that beyond her statement there was not the slightest proof in evidence that he wished his property might, after death, be devoted to religious or any other particular purposes. No one ever heard him express such a wish. On the contrary, four gentlemen, all, friends and companions, with whom he was in the habit of expressing his views very freely, declared that in matters of religion he maintained a sort of philosophical indifference; that he did not confine his attendance on church to any particular denomination; and that, as one of them expressed it, he had no faith in creeds nor the expounders of creeds. Indeed, it would seem from the statement of one of them, that he had no active religious belief whatever. He had contemplated, no doubt, the erection of a church, in his life-time, on his land in Taunton, and had obtained estimates of cost, &c. This project he frequently spoke of, and when the land was offered for sale, one lot was reserved for a church, and it was so stated in public. Once, when passing by the land before the sale, he pointed out this lot to the friend who was with him. His reply indicated very clearly the thought

which was passing in both minds: "I advise you," said he, "to build at once, before you undertake to sell." It was to enhance the value of his land, and there was no proof that he regarded it in any other light. So, too, he would point out a lot on the North Providence estate, as that which Eliza intended for *her* church.

There is another fact of no insignificant bearing on this alleged vehement desire to execute her brother's wishes. Thirteen months were suffered to elapse between his death and the execution of her will. Had she died suddenly during this period—an event not very unlikely at her age—then the dearest wishes of her brother would have come to naught, and this property would have gone to those hated relatives, instead of being "given to the Lord." There was no reason for the delay, had her mind been made up; and it appeared that during this period she mentioned various other charitable objects to which she thought of bequeathing her property. The only possible conclusion is that the disposition she finally adopted was her own deliberate choice—not the execution of another's wishes.

The psychological history of this lady is easily read by the light of the evidence, and it may be worth our while to notice some of the prominent incidents of that mental movement, which, beginning in the deepest emotions of childhood, fostered by the peculiar circumstances of her lot, and determined, in a great degree, probably, by hereditary tendencies to disease, ended finally in delusion and disorder. It was the work of years, it is true, and not obvious to the casual observer, but it was none the less real or serious.

Though too young at the time to be much affected by the separation of her parents, yet, in the latter years of her childhood, it must have been a subject of curious and earnest speculation. At the age of ten, the second marriage of her mother introduced her to new domestic scenes, calculated to impart a peculiar tone to her thoughts and feelings. The treatment which she and her mother received from her stepfather's sons produced, in addition to the usual effects, a vague apprehension of evil, soon passing into strong suspicion, under

which every act of petty discourtesy was magnified and distorted into a deliberate insult, if not an attempt upon her life. At the age of thirteen, news came of the death of her father in a remote State, coupled with intimations that he was poisoned; and it cannot be doubted that thereby a most suggestive and life-long impression was made upon her mind at this most susceptible period. When she first began to believe or suspect that attempts were made to poison her, or any of her family, does not appear. The evidence only showed that the belief existed, at least, some thirty or forty years before her death. It sprang, very probably, from the circumstances of her father's death, of which she always retained some recollection. In fact, the idea of poisoning and being poisoned thus suggested to her susceptible imagination, became so familiar to her mental experience as to defy the utmost efforts of reason to dislodge it.

This habit of mind was unquestionably strengthened by an event which happened towards the middle period of her life. An English gentleman bearing her name had died, leaving a considerable property, the heirs to which were supposed to live in this country. Various members of her family became interested in the matter, and one of them went to England for the purpose of making inquiries and prosecuting claims. It appeared, however, that they were not the heirs of this man, and the property went in another direction. But the idea thus suggested to her mind of being entitled to property in England, was never abandoned by Miss A., though in her later years she said but little about it. It was accompanied by suspicions of foul play, and of attempts upon her life on the part of those who might better their own claims by getting her out of the way. Thus, a naval-looking gentleman, with a pistol in his belt, whom she met on board a steamer, she imagined to be her relative, Commodore Barney, watching an opportunity to take her life, in order thus to better the claim of his nephews on the English estate.

Thus far the mental disorder had not a very wide or conspicuous operation. It was not obvious to the world, and interfered with none of the ordinary performances of life. A naturally

active mind, a good education, an agreeable person, and social advantages, masked the morbid traits of her character, and enabled her to bear her allotted part in life with tolerable credit. Even those best acquainted with the workings of her mind, would venture only to call her peculiar or fanciful. Nevertheless, the morbid element was steadily, though slowly, gaining strength, when it received an extraordinary stimulus from the reading of the Goddard letters. The unusual circumstances attending her father's death, and the air of mystery in which that event, as well as the whole history of his residence abroad, was enveloped, had furnished food for much morbid reflection; but now, for the first time, her ideas assumed definite shape. In her suspicious and credulous temper, the mention there made of her own christian name in connection with money and investments, afforded confirmation strong as holy writ of the traditional belief that her father had married a rich planter's widow, and died leaving a large estate; while it also suggested the additional belief that that estate had belonged to her as her father's heir, but, somehow, had been wrested from her by dishonest uncles. The marvellous improbability of the whole tissue of events supposed in this belief, caused neither hesitation nor doubt. Ever after, she did not suspect, but she believed with her whole heart and her whole soul, that she had been robbed by her own relatives of a valuable estate. Habitually dwelling on this idea, she was always seeing, in every occurrence, some fresh proof of the existence of this estate, and of the iniquity which defrauded her out of it. Did a relative build a block of stores, he certainly must have obtained the means from her property. Did another send his boys to a boarding-school, his salary was too small to allow such an expense, and it could have been derived only from her property. When one of them went to Virginia, it was for the purpose of visiting her plantations. The style of housekeeping in which her relatives indulged, was diligently scrutinized, in order to show that they were living beyond their ostensible means, and, of course, on the fruits of iniquity. A belief



originating and entertained like this, can be called by one name only—delusion—and delusion is insanity.

Its first fruit was an excessive anxiety to ascertain where that property was, and for this purpose, it was necessary to learn when and where her father died. While her mother and brother were living, she could do but little. They did not share in her belief, and seeing that the subject, when introduced, always excited her, they lent her no assistance in prosecuting her inquiries. After their death, however, she was free to pursue the desire of her heart, without let or hindrance from others. The very difficulty of getting information only strengthened her delusion, for to her distempered fancy the fact that they to whom she applied professed to be utterly ignorant, was conclusive proof that they were participants in the crime. With her relatives, servants, and some others, it was the prevailing theme of her discourse; while in every descendant of those faithless uncles, whatever their position or character, she saw a foe fattening upon the spoils of her father's estate, and, perhaps, seeking her life, in order to avoid exposure. At last, the original letter containing the account of her father's death, burial, &c., fell into her hands, and thus she was enabled to confirm her traditionary belief, so far as it went, and, also, to ascertain precisely what property her father had possessed, and what he left behind him. But the information came too late. For years her belief had been a delusion, and the most palpable proofs of his absolute destitution did not shake it in the slightest degree.

During the latter years of her life, it is obvious that the mental infirmity had greatly extended its influence. The fear of being poisoned had steadily increased, until the circle of the suspected embraced many of her kinsfolk and most of her servants. To this was added the fear of foes from without as well as foes within. Doors and windows were kept fastened day and night, and she retired to rest in a bed surrounded by fire-arms. The suspicion and distrust of her earlier years were converted at last into utter disbelief of human honesty. All, from the kind old Baptist deacon who

managed her charities, to the honest old Quaker who managed her farm ; from the cherished friend of her brother, unceasing in his offices of kindness towards her, to the humble cousin who was ever her willing drudge—all were, in her eyes, cheats, thieves, and liars. To the broadest moral distinctions she became insensible, charging with fraud and malice persons whose company and assistance she courted, and putting into the hands of the man who was to watch her premises, the instruments of death, with directions to use them upon the first one who came along. The management of her property now betrays a lack of that mental vigor, and the style of her housekeeping an insensibility to little conveniences and proprieties, which mark the progress of her malady no less clearly than other more demonstrative traits ; and thus year after year, for the greater portion of her life, she was brought more and more under the influence of disease, though seldom, if ever, deprived entirely of self-control, or all sense of the fitness of things. To say that she was, therefore, not insane, is merely to say, that she was not a raving maniac, nor a stupid clod, devoid of all sense and reason.

It may be worth our while to observe that this case involves some questions touching the effect of mental disease on the testamentary capacity, that are not yet definitely settled. In cases where a will has been disputed on the ground of insanity, the kind of mental impairment alleged has generally been that which accompanies congenital imbecility, paralysis, acute disease of some bodily organ, the decay of old age, intoxication. It consists of enfeeblement rather than perversion, and affects the memory and judgment rather than the opinions and sentiments. These cases involved simply a question of capacity, and courts were always seeking some standard by which the testamentary capacity could be measured. In the case of imbeciles, the ability to count ten, to tell the day of the week, or measure a yard of cloth, was considered once evidence of a disposing mind, and though the standard was raised in later times, it was still an arbitrary one, having no necessary relation to the thing compared with it. In other cases of mental enfeeblement, courts have said

that the testator should possess mind sufficient to transact the common business of life, or be capable of making a contract, or doing any other binding act. And this was the common doctrine, until it was discovered, almost within our own generation, that some wills require a stronger understanding and a wider comprehension than some contracts, and *vice versa*. This led to what may now be considered a settled principle, viz., that the testamentary capacity must be estimated in reference to the circumstances of the particular act itself. Thus, a will disposing of a large amount of property to various persons, for various purposes, and under various conditions, requires a larger capacity than one devising a small property to the only two or three relatives the testator may have, or than a contract marked by few and simple conditions.

No sooner was this principle recognized as the settled law, than it was found too narrow to cover all the ground which the subject presents. A class of cases began to make their appearance, in which the testator, while possessing many of the highest powers and the ordinary traits of a sane mind, transacting business correctly, mingling in society without exciting surprise, and discharging creditably the duties of a good citizen, was bereft of reason in relation to certain subjects, believing notions utterly impossible in the nature of things, or the circumstances of the case. Under the principle just mentioned, such a person could not be pronounced intestable; but if the delusion had reference to persons whose interests were thereby affected in the dispositions of the will, then, very clearly, the will might have been the offspring of insanity, and, if it were, then, in spite of all the rules and definitions, it ought not to stand; and so it appeared to the court in one of the earliest cases reported—that of Greenwood, who disinherited his brother under the delusion that he had poisoned him. On an appeal, however, this decision was reversed by Lord Kenyon, who, while he admitted the hardship of the case to the surviving brother, felt unwilling to quit the old landmarks. Some years afterwards, a case of this description—*Dew v. Clark*—was decided in Doctor's Commons, under the benigner spirit of the civil law, by Sir

John Phillimore, in whose long and elaborate judgment the true principle which should govern this class of cases, was maintained with so much clearness and ability that it has been accepted, with scarcely a murmur of dissent, as the established law of the land. Finding that the testator was insane on the subject of his daughter, whom he had disinherited, he pronounced against the will, the question at issue being, not whether the insanity would vitiate any will, ("a will *generally*,") of the deceased, but this identical will.

One more class of cases remained to be disposed of—that where the insanity is not only partial and limited, but has had no influence, apparently, on the testamentary act. Is every insane person to be deemed intestable, however partial the disease, and however free from its influence the testamentary act may be, or only so when the act is shaped and colored by the disease. In the only reported case\* where this question has been clearly mooted, Lord Brougham came out strongly in favor of the former opinion, and, in the course of his discussion, even questioned whether the advocates of the latter opinion would have the courage to say that the will of the man who declared that he was the Christ, should be admitted to probate, though it bore no marks whatever of an unsound mind. This is an extreme case, and the courage which would be wanting here, might be found amply sufficient in those far more numerous ones where the mental affection is less extravagant and absurd. Before coinciding with his Lordship, we are entitled to a satisfactory reason for believing that any will whatever of an insane person should be invalidated, whose contracts might be confirmed. It would seem, certainly, as if the principles by which their validity is determined were the same in both cases; and though either rule would, no doubt, sometimes cause injustice, yet it can scarcely be questioned, that a larger balance of wrong would follow the adoption of that which would allow the slightest mental infirmity to disqualify a person from making his will.

\* *Waring v. Waring*, 6 Moore, P. C. Cases, 349.

In this country, the law would seem to be complicated by the legislative acts that have been passed in the different States on the subject of the will-making power. In this State, for instance, it has been enacted, that a person to make a valid will must, among other qualifications, possess a "sane mind." If this language is to be taken literally, then, certainly, no distinctions as to the nature or extent of the disease can be compatible with a due observance of the law, which requires nothing less than the implicit adoption of Lord Brougham's rule. It will be contended, no doubt, that this language must be interpreted by the rules of the English law; in other words, that the meaning of one of our statutes must be determined, not by the ordinary signification of terms, but by the decisions of English courts, not themselves harmonious. Such a course would be in curious contrast to that usual adherence to the language of a statute, which allows the intentions of the legislator to be completely frustrated by a misplaced preposition, or an improper tense or mood. It adds another leaf to the chapter of contradictions and inconsistencies which forms so large a part of the law of insanity. Letting this pass, however, it is to be regretted that the language of the statute is not more explicit, because if, contrary to the design of the legislature, any court is determined to follow its literal meaning, it can never fail to find abundant authority for its decision in the English law books.

There was one point made by the appellees, which, under any rule less strict than that of the statute literally interpreted, would seem, at first sight, entitled to some consideration. In all the reported cases of this kind, the heirs at law thus disinherited under the influence of a delusion were very near of kin—children, brothers, sisters—naturally and reasonably expecting to be preëminently favored. They were manifestly *cut off*, as, in all probability, they would not have been except for the delusion; and it seemed to be the dictate of humanity and common sense to repair the wrong which the testator had unconsciously done. Here, on the contrary, are a host of relatives—no one nearer than cousins—and no one with any special claims on the affection or justice of the testatrix.



It would have excited little or no surprise, supposing her to have been indisputably sane, had she disinherited every one of them. It is a monstrous conclusion that any conceivable will which this woman might have made, would necessarily be defeated at the instance of any one of those heirs-at-law who should be dissatisfied with his legacy. Abstractly considered, this view of the matter is not without some weight, but it is hardly applicable to the present case. One, at least, of her disinherited relatives might have reasonably expected something on the score of justice, considering the numerous and laborious services she had rendered the testatrix. But, without regarding this fact, it is evident that this will could not be sustained, even under the most liberal construction of the English law. It is enough to vitiate the will, that the testatrix was under a delusion respecting the conduct and feelings of her relatives. It is not necessary to show that the will was the legitimate offspring of that delusion. The testator has the unquestionable right to bestow his goods on whom he pleases, but the heirs-at-law have the equally unquestionable right to require that no cloud of mental infirmity shall have come between them and the mind of the testator.

The manner in which the opinions of the experts were elicited deserves a moment's attention. On the first trial the question was put to the expert in the usual form, viz: "Having heard all the testimony thus far in this case, and supposing it to be true, what is your opinion respecting the mental condition of the testatrix when she made her will?" The court ruled that this question was improper, but permitted the expert to state the general conclusions to which he had been led, respecting the mental condition of the testatrix, mentioning the particular facts in evidence on which they were founded, the jury being cautioned against regarding the facts as necessarily proved thereby. Under this rule, the witness proceeded to collate the evidence, and indicate the psychological significance of each class of incidents. This, that, and the other fact, indicated a certain delusion; these, a morbid degree of suspicion, common in insanity; these, an inability

to see the force of evidence, universal with the insane ; these, an attack of paralysis, a frequent sequel of mental disease, &c. On the second trial, it was proposed to pursue the same course, but the court decided against it. The experts were allowed to present a hypothetical case, making use of the facts which had appeared in evidence, but carefully abstaining from the mention of names, dates, or any other particulars that would indicate that these facts had actually appeared in evidence. Accordingly, the experts set up a hypothetical personage, a mere figment of the fancy, ostensibly, but, really, a thing of flesh and blood, "a certain, elderly, maiden lady," of whom they predicated every fact bearing upon the mental condition of the testatrix. This course was pursued on the third trial.

If any fancied difficulty attending the old form of putting the question to the expert, is obviated by these new methods, I confess I cannot see it. "You shall not suppose, even hypothetically, the testimony to be true," the courts say to experts, "because you would thus usurp the functions of the jury," and then allow them to construct a hypothetical case out of this very testimony, by means of a plentiful use of the subjunctive mood. The facts in evidence are thus placed before the jury, as they ever will be, in some shape or other, under any rule which admits the opinions of experts at all. Because, to oblige them to abstain from such facts in the construction of their hypothetical case, would be equivalent to excluding them from the witness-stand altogether. All these new methods, therefore, can only furnish new ways of doing that indirectly which cannot be done directly—a thing too common, I suppose, in the practice of the law, to be regarded as very objectionable in this particular instance. They remind us of those old fictions of the law, in which a couple of varlets named John Doe and Richard Roe, are represented as roaming up and down the realm, thrusting themselves into every suit at law, and taking the place of the actual parties thereto, though kindly leaving them the privilege of paying the costs and damages. Faithful to its traditions, the law says to the expert, you shall not say one word about the testator whose will is now disputed on the ground

of mental incompetency, which question it is the business of the jury, with your aid, to decide, but you may set up a fictitious testator, a sort of John Doe or Richard Roe, and say about him whatever you please to imagine.

The notion prevails, to some extent, that experts on the question of insanity have been allowed peculiar privileges, and counsel may often be heard contending that they shall be examined like experts on other matters. "In questions of surgery, or of poisoning, or of unseaworthiness of vessels," they say, "we call an expert who may not have heard a syllable of the evidence, and obtain his opinion on whatever point we choose to inquire about." This supposed diversity of practice is more apparent than real. In most cases, the essential facts are comparatively few, and can be readily recapitulated by the counsel, who scarcely troubles himself to state them hypothetically. For instance, a person laboring under some disease receives a blow, and shortly after dies. The offender is put upon trial, and the essential question is, whether death was caused by the disease or the blow. Witnesses describe the symptoms of the disease, the force and direction of the blow, the changes that followed, and the appearances after death. An expert is now called in; the testimony is recapitulated by counsel, whether under the forms of the indicative or subjunctive mood, is immaterial, and he is asked his opinion, on this state of facts, respecting the question at issue. The facts disclosed by the testimony are fairly placed before him, and to seek his opinion upon a set of imaginary facts, would be regarded as a piece of impertinent trifling. Now, the only difference, as it regards the examination of the expert, between such a case and a will-case involving a question of mental competency, is, that in one, the evidence is brief, the facts are few and tangible, and easily repeated; while, in the latter, the evidence might fill a volume, much of it, perhaps, having no bearing on the essential point. Out of this mass of relevant and irrelevant facts, the counsel are unable to select such as are suitable for the basis of an opinion, because none but an expert can form a proper distinction. In both cases, the purpose is to present

to the expert all the essential facts. In the one, they are stated to him by counsel; in the other, he hears them himself from the witnesses. It needs a subtlety of discernment not vouchsafed to every one, to perceive any material difference between these two methods.

It is deeply to be regretted that so simple a method of obtaining the opinion of the expert, as that of allowing him to *suppose* the testimony to be true, should be discarded in favor of the circuitous and awkward contrivance of a hypothetical case, in regard to the exact conditions and elements of which no two courts have ever agreed. With some opportunities of observation, I have not yet met with a single instance in which a form of putting the question to the expert under the new rule, adopted by one court, has been subsequently allowed by any other court. This is a significant fact. Would that courts would heed the lesson which it teaches.

In the charges of the courts in this case, there was necessarily little of much interest to the medico-legal reader. In all the trials, the court affirmed the doctrine that partial insanity might or might not vitiate a will; and directly, or by implication, maintained that the will, to be defeated on the ground of insanity, must be the offspring of delusion. It is enough to say that, although this latter rule may be a very proper one under some circumstances, yet, in its application to the present case, it would, in all justice, require an important modification. Whether this will was or was not the offspring of insanity; or, in other words, whether it would or would not have been just the will which the testatrix would have made had she never been insane, we have no means of knowing. What we do know is, that, entertaining the belief she did respecting her heirs-at-law, she would most certainly leave them nothing. The proper question is, whether such a belief would not necessarily vitiate any will whereby her heirs were completely disinherited. If there were any doubt as to the existence of delusion, then the character of the will might remove that doubt; but, delusion on this vital point—the

intentions, conduct and feelings of the heirs—being established, the will is invalid, though preëminently “a rational act rationally performed.”

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## ASYLUMS AND PSYCHIATRIC ADMINISTRATION IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

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BY J. PARIGOT, M. D.

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Man has natural affinities which form, under the action of Divine Providence, the moral ties of his family, and those by which he is attached to his country; a step further are the sublime aspirations towards God and liberty. As a physician, he has a peculiar mission to love and assist his neighbor in his most unfortunate and miserable circumstances. Indeed, his devotion goes so far that his duties are the same for all men, whatever their race, whatever their country; his sphere of action has extended his views, and, losing sight of the narrow boundaries of country, he embraces vast spaces and, unaware, becomes a citizen of the world. The medical profession, freely chosen in the days when all is bright in prospect, becomes dearer to him when, knowing he has done his duty, his experience proves that his sacrifices must be continued. Then he will find that his functions have a sacerdotal character. Then, also, he may enjoy a moral position that permits opinions which cannot be regarded as springing from envy or be construed as being prompted even by the honorable partialities and proud feelings of nationality.

The singular times in which we live require that we should investigate the motives of action of all influential men; and this we propose to do in respect to French and English psychopaths; but as humanity has a close resemblance every where, perhaps some of our observations may find their application in this country. In the beginning of this paper some general remarks may not be out of place.

The great historical events of the present, taking place far and near, have, perhaps, part of their explanation in the un-



equal balance between the animal instincts and the moral and intellectual development of the nations who occupy now the fore-ground of the human stage. We are confident that in the lower classes (generally ignorant and often criminal) these animal instincts are employed as tools by wicked politicians, let the latter be crowned and belong to the aristocracy, or be of the lower orders found in our cities and towns. In science and civilization the element of *quality* of a nation gives way to that of *quantity*. This is a fact well known in politics. For instance, the French nation, which possesses a prominent place in science, philosophy, fine arts and administration, is subjected by political tactics to those who despise the noblest part of our nature and believe only in material force. This is what these shrewd politicians call the *will of the nation*. There is not the slightest doubt that since 1848 a secret impulse has been given to a sort of latent instinct of hate between the different races of men; not only the color of the skin, the different features of nations, but the slightest competition in industry between two nations of the same stock of parentage, is sufficient cause for mortal enmity. The Scandinavians are excited against the Slavonians; these latter entertain deadly enmity with the Turks and Mongolians. The Latin race is preparing for a great struggle against the Teutons and the Anglo-Saxons in Europe. By and by we shall have here the continuance of that hatred; indeed, the prospect of an European war was not sufficient it appears for political purposes. At the end of our struggle we will be obliged to begin a second one for the supremacy of American nationalities on their own soil.

Is it not time that reason should intervene between these passions and should crush down the cruel propensities of war, excited by all those who themselves excited by a false sense of national honor, constantly throw blame and disdain on whatever has not been instituted or accomplished within the narrow boundaries of their village, town or country.

The Machiavelic doctrine, *divide ut impera*, is now, it appears, the great rule. It is easy, for instance, to remember that not so many years ago the English and French nations were

in process of a mutual esteem and cordiality; the proof is that railways were allowed to be constructed in France by English laborers and that the same class was admitted into England. Could such a fact take place now? Since the so-called *entente cordiale* of two unscrupulous governments, what is now the mutual feeling of the two nations? Hatred and active preparations for war. The low classes of France are the most numerous in the army. In England necessity has called to arms the middle classes; *the riflemen* are ready to fight the external or internal enemy whoever he may be. Since 1852 the French words, *L'Anglais*, imply such hate and disdain that they are hardly equivalent to the English outrage of *French-dog* shouted by the rabble at French citizens.

It depends much on the intelligent classes to modify these feelings and instincts in the uneducated community. Scientific men, and especially writers on psychology, must take higher points of view and not be biased in their opinions by national antipathies.

Now the very zeal with which some courtiers of public opinion and power defend their national institutions as the best in the world, may be a cause of distrust to the sincere inquirer. Constant efforts to conceal some defect or to proclaim superiority, lead to a close examination. As there is but one aim in psychiatry, that of serving humanity, these writers, in our opinion, betray their narrow views and lose our confidence. But the comparison of their boastings and sayings with the serious documents published by their own countrymen are sufficient to show us the truth.

We have before us the excellent French work entitled *Études pratiques sur les maladies nerveuses et mentales casées sur la statistique par le Docteur Girard de Cailleux, Inspecteur général du Service des Aliénés*, one of the most conscientious and respected Alienists of France. We find on page 40 the following sentences:

“It is undoubtedly established that *soldiers, sailors and servants* in France give the greatest proportion of insane, that is, 1 in 708, whilst in other professions the proportion is

1 in 977." The author attributes this difference to the strict and severe discipline of the former and to the subjection and dependence of the latter classes who, besides their moral and material misery, are entirely at the mercy of the caprice and arbitrary power of their employers. In opposition to that servile condition, the author mentions the fact that insanity finds only one victim in 21,168 in the happy, unpretentious and laborious classes of the small land proprietors farming their own lands."

There is no doubt that in continental Europe, and, perhaps, to a less degree in England, the inferior laboring class is disqualified of every right. They must obey laws to which they have not contributed, and which are in favor of their masters. They are compelled, by chance or misery, to fill the ranks of the army. It is true, after a little time they like that life of comparative idleness during peace, and in time of war of glory and advancement; but it is a fact well known that a common uneducated soldier has no chance whatever of becoming an officer. Some of the best among the privates arrive only at the distinction and grade of sergeant. The continual trials that these soldiers and non-commissioned officers are subjected to are, with despair and drunkenness, the great causes of insanity in this class of the French nation.

We find in the same work the following quotation from Mr. Buret's treatise *On the misery of the laboring classes in England and France*: "The most advanced nations of Europe are exceedingly poor, if a comparison is made between the common stock of wealth and the population. For instance, the division of the whole income of France and of the profits of labor and industry would give annually to each Frenchman about 40 dollars. This for each family composed of four and a half persons is about 200 dollars yearly, which would not meet the necessities of such a family residing in a city. Thus an absolute repartition would be equal to general misery in France. But even the majority of Frenchmen cannot reach that position. Out of thirty millions, the first fourth must live on 18 dollars, the second fourth receives only 24 dollars yearly, the third fourth not quite 40 dollars,

and the last fourth from 40 dollars to perhaps 100 dollars every year.\* Instruction and education must be distributed in about the same ratio, so that we must not wonder that 22,500,000 French are poor and ignorant, and this is nearly the moral and material condition of every other European State!

These facts explain the necessity for the French Government to direct and maintain public institutions; nay, even to assist and counsel in private affairs and enterprises, so that the laboring class may be protected.

The French administration is bound to know, to think, to regulate for the least educated and most numerous class of citizens. But that protection must be done without opposition or control. Hence the parliamentary form of government (which in other countries suits best the people, at the same time that it is the best mode of political education) is not yet convenient for the French, who themselves declare that they must be led by some chief. Hierarchic power may have its advantages but it has also its defects, and these we find, for instance, in the administration of the insane. On page 193 of the same work we find the following extract concerning the increase of insane persons in this *department de la Seine*, (Paris and its suburbs.) Never has the celebrated Girard de Calleux better shown the superiority of the Belgian system of *l'air libre et la vie de famille*, although he, as an administrator, has declared himself opposed to it in the *Societe Medico-Psychologiques* of France. He says: "When we study the progressive increase of insane patients treated and *remaining* in the hospitals of Paris, or of those who are sent to the asylums of other departments, and we investigate the causes of it, we find it arises:

1st. From the increase of population in the *department de la Seine* which, since 20 years, has been going on to the number of one million more of souls; nearly two thirds more than the primitive stock in 1841.

2d. From the small number of *returning-home* patients

\* In the United States the minimum salary of a laborer of the lowest order, is above 160 dollars a year.

whose condition is better, though not cured, but who being supported by public charity and distributed in asylums far distant from home, are almost forgotten by their families and friends.

Now, a close and peculiar examination of each case has shown :

a. That many patients whose intellectual power remains enfeebled or low in consequence of previous attacks of insanity, might be safely removed by their friends, and by the use of a suitable kind of liberty, the benefit of friendly protection and the exercise of their own judgment and *free will*, or spontaneity, eventually recover their normal feelings and reason ; when, on the contrary, if they remain deprived of all these benefits, they themselves witness the gradual decay and final extinction of intellectual light, and their own degradation.

b. That a certain number of insane patients who might, *in other circumstances*, have been cured, remain indefinitely in asylums, because being deprived of the protection of their families, the physicians of the department or county asylums, who might, under favorable circumstances, have excited and recalled those ideas of *family-life*, by granting them leaves of absence for going home, are unable so to do.

c. That many insane patients, although *partially* or *completely cured*, do remain in the Asylum, because the physicians, under the fear of a possible relapse, occasioned either by a sudden departure for home or the emotions and difficulties experienced in Parisian life, will not take upon themselves the responsibility of sending them so far ; the more so, that their reputation might suffer unfavorably from an experiment attended sometimes with ill success, and in any event resulting in expensive journeys. More often the Asylum holds *indefinitely* the patient, (it is true with his consent,) because the *administration* has an interest in keeping a good hand, who, above his own expenses, *benefits* the institution ; instead of which, if sent home, he would be the occasion of various expenses, or perhaps be the cause of a loss if he did



*not die* in the Asylum, as in the latter event, *his savings* go to the funds of the Asylum.

d. Lastly, that experience has shown that *family-ties* do call forth feelings which, properly kept up, are the cause of the possibility of their going home, and that the extinction of such feelings is certain in opposite circumstances. Also, that private views, egotism and calculation taking advantage of separation and of being *out of sight*, end in the abandonment and neglect of the patient.

3rd. The increase of the number of lunatics in the *Seine department* as patent at *Bicêtre* and *Salpêtrière* is the result of committing *so called patients* too easily to the above named institutions. In fact, orders by public authority have superseded private admissions of patients, and this in consequence of a recent administrative doctrine adopted in Paris; namely, that every insane person, however inoffensive he may be, is dangerous in certain circumstances, and that in a large city, like the French Metropolis, it is unsafe to let loose in the streets any man who might in the least degree trouble the public peace, or make any attempt on the *security* of the chief of the State, the Emperor.

4th. The increase of lunatics is the consequence of the admission of idiots and imbeciles to Asylums.

5th. And also by the abusive seclusion in Asylums of such persons whose mental faculties are only a little below par, and who might be received in other charitable institutions.

6th. By the conflict of two different authorities in Paris; the *Prefect de Police*, who commits *so called patients* as he judges convenient, but who has not the charge of paying their expenses, and the *Prefect de la Seine*, who must pay the expenses of such persons whose admission prevents paying-patients from entering the public institutions.

Now, unless Dr. Girard de Cailleux, now one of the heads of French medical literature, had divulged those infamies, who could have detected them? Two conditions of individual liberty are publicly violated in France. The slightest suspicion of insanity, the sometimes inappreciable diminution of mental power is sufficient to disfranchise a man, and when

sent to an Asylum, a physician may not judge it safe for him to dismiss a *so-called patient* that in his conscience, he has found positively sane. Preventive justice is liable, in our times, to become a cruel and unjust tool in many instances.

But we should like to know how the administration in France explains its disregard for legal obligations and its reaction on the medical officers of French Asylums? Article 8 of the French law on insane persons, enacted in 1838, contains all the legal conditions of admittance to Asylums, and in Article 13, of the same law, it appears that patients, when found *cured* by the physician, must be sent immediately home. We do not see on what principle of justice a person of sane mind can be kept, and thus be deprived of his liberty, civil rights and civic duties, (even with his consent,) in an Asylum; still less can that motive of profit which grasps at the savings of a citizen be explained or even tolerated in a country like France. There will a time, no doubt, arrive when law will be held sacred, and will be respected as well by those who must enforce it as by those who must obey it.

The book of the *Inspecteur General*, Girard de Cailleux, is really patriotic, because it points to defects and vices in the administration. He concludes his book by two wishes—that the administration of the *département de la Seine* may enter the broad way of science, humanity and economy and thus cease to be a *sad example* and an abomination; and that she may before Europe and France, replace the condition of the insane on its *legal basis*.

But we cannot leave the book of this honest and eminent psychologist without calling attention to the following beautiful extract: "The serious question of restraint or non-restraint is a resolved one for us. For years the best minds have been occupied in the choice of the employment, either of *morale fear*, (the writer calls it in French *la crainte chaste*,) or *servile fear*. Starting from the idea, that in spite of a man having lost some part of his dignity by a mental disease, he still preserves the characteristics of his divine creation, marks of reason, feelings, conscience and kindness; the

consequence is clear as a therapeutical indication. It consists in calling forth and preserving at least what remains of reason, and in fostering those heart-feelings, while medicinal agents act on the body. Kindness and persuasion are the only *worthy* moral means to employ with man. Unhappily servile fear has proved sometimes necessary to react on the moral or chaste fear, which is nothing but the feeling of our duties, and the desire not to hurt or displease those we love, still, when absolutely necessary, it must be employed, but for a short time only and quite exceptionally."

Since the publication of a small book on Gheel, whose title contains in a few words the very principle of the proposed reform—*L'air libre et la vie de famille*—much has been said for and against it. But it is clear that great concessions have been made by the opponents to its introduction. The original paper, published in 1852, had for its aim to prove that the most rational means of curing insanity should be *open-air life and freedom, the respect of the person, the attendance of a family and the scientific care of a physician*. That under this direction, the employment in works proportioned to the strength and taste of patients, would prove a far better therapeutical agent than any closed Asylum or *maison de Sante*. The object of that publication was obtained, public attention was attracted and discussion followed. Happily, the cause of the *Belgian treatment* found many able defenders, and, by their works, the medical public, and the public at large, were duly convinced that the influence of a country life, its pleasures, its loneliness in the fields and even sometimes its toils, were curative means. They showed, in particular, the elegant and profound writer, *Jules Duval*, that nature while attracting the mind, operates a beneficial diversion, that it calms all irritation and despair, that it has the power to dissipate deceptions and illusions, and, finally, that many inveterate chronic diseases were eradicated by her direct influence. Certainly, the *modus operandi* is not always found or explained, but the fact is patent, that rural life, employment, even the rambling in fields, woods, valleys and

mountains, restore the lost balance in the daily strife of moral anxiety or intellectual labor.

Among the most determined supporters of this truth, a young gentleman, and, we may add, a nobleman, though this adds nothing to personal value—*Doctor Baron de Mundy*—is eminent, and has published very learned pamphlets in the English, German and French languages. Independent by his character and fortune, he has taken the shortest way to attain his end, the truth, and thus has become the object of the animadversions of many physicians of high repute in the scientific world. And here we must remark, that some cannot readily admit of a sweeping reform in the Asylums they have taken so much pains to have erected for the care and protection of the lunatics, who were anciently confined in jails and considered dangerous. It is to this feeling, justifiable in a certain point of view, that we attribute the opposition of many distinguished psychopathists. Let us remember that it is only fifty years ago that the reforms of Pinel, Tuke, Laugerman and Guislain took effect. But then they were obliged, in order to convince the public to build large Asylums, to overrate their utility. The celebrated Esquirol was forced to say that an Asylum was the best instrument for the skilful psychologist, because it was the only means by which he could bring patients within his reach. But now, that psychological science begins to be taught in medical schools, and friends and parents apply for relief to specialists, is there any reason for not adopting more convenient means for the same object? There is no necessity to make comparisons between a well regulated and comfortable Asylum and the house or cottage of a simple peasant or easy citizen; all depends upon the moral effect and healing efficacy exerted on special cases. We are convinced that, in this respect, the Belgian system is more acceptable to the generality of patients than any other, including even the English non-restraint system. In the matter of economy it supersedes even the poor-houses.

Dr. Renaudin is one of the ablest writers of the *Annales Médico Psychologiques*, and is, it appears, one of the antagonists of Dr. de Mundy. In a late article of that journal, hav-

ing for its subject an analysis of Dr. de Mundy's pamphlet, "*the five cardinal questions of Asylums*," Dr. Renaudin gives us reason to suspect that he has been prompted by a false patriotism. Indeed, we might have believed some of his assertions on French supremacy, if such bombastic exaggerations were not in direct opposition with the clear and simple statement of Dr. Girard de Cailleux. Mons. Renaudin has adopted, for a psychopathist, some curious principles. For instance, he supposes that nothing good or grand can be found out of France. The Belgian system is but an Utopian scheme, (which has however centuries of practical existence;) one has decorated with the name of *family life*, the management of lunatics by rude peasants, and the life of misery they are condemned to. \* \* \* How dares a Moravian, De Mundy, presume to upset the French system of Asylums which, are superior to any in the world. Are not the French alienists much in advance of any others, and should a Moravian pretend to rend the veil that obscures his scientific horizon?

Dr. Renaudin says, that in point of *non-restraint*, the French alienists have left Dr. Conolly far behind; that lunatics are more free in France than anywhere else. If a psychopathist wishes to see scientific progress he must come to France. There only he will find a good system of administration instead of the incongruous public assistance of the poor in England. English public institutions are but commercial speculations under the name of apparent charity! In France, medical officers of Asylums are free and high functionaries, more elevated in rank than the English, who are but servants, exactly as the cook, the house-keeper or wash woman, &c., and it is the same *with Germany*. The pamphlet of Dr. Mundy betrays his ignorance, and is but the expression of charlatanism. In France, Asylums are subordinate to the Minister of the Interior and the courts of justice, who are the well reputed *defenders of French liberty*. Besides, Asylums are submitted to the *Prefects* and *Boards of Trustees*, whose duty it is to prevent any *evil*, if ever it could appear in a French Asylum, but who cannot also prevent the



good to be done by physicians, *if they employ the legal and proper means for it.*

All this is contradictory to Dr. Girard de Cailleux, who complains of the miseries of the insane in the *département de la Seine*, (Paris,) and wishes to have *legality* as the basis of its administration.

We follow Dr. Renaudin in his enthusiastic assertions: "France has long ago realized the reforms supposed to be *new necessities*. A Moravian Doctor would do well to study what is going on in France, a portion of Europe, perhaps, of some importance. As a writer, he ought to be ashamed to be ignorant of the progress of administration and science in France. But the plan of Dr. De Mundy was only to cast blame on Asylums in order to puff up *l'air libre et la vie de famille*. Now, who can admire a system in which either the peasant grows rich by the payment of his lodgers' board, or else in which the patient is subjected to the *misery* of his host, a system in which there is no medical treatment and *rarely a cure!*"

Dr. Renaudin finishes with the following conclusions: "He would not have taken the trouble to refute the Belgian system had it not been for his desire to show how efficaciously the law of 1838 is applied in France, to prove the great part taken by France in the reform of asylums, and to demonstrate the intelligent *union* which exists between the superior administration and the medical officers in France, whose intentions are that asylums for the insane shall soon be at the head of all the charitable institutions."

It is hard to understand how in the same *Annales Médico-Psychologiques* the following contradictory facts are announced: 1st. The French government has bought a very extensive estate, on which a certain number of cottages are to be built—there inoffensive and chronic patients will be taken care of by kind, honest, and laborious families, under the special management of physicians; 2d. In the *exposé* of the situation of the French Empire, the Minister of the Inte-

rior declares that "Farms have been added to most of the Lunatic Asylums. This new measure has produced the most *happy* results; field labor, combined with medical care, has brought forth a *certain number of cures*."

The Gheel question has been treated in the same way in England as in France. The Association of Medical Officers of Asylums of England had reluctantly named a commission to visit Gheel. Nobody went. If the real character of Gheel, its principle, was faithfully represented, the resentment of many was the recompense to be expected; and although to misrepresent and falsify is not the feeling of many others, still it was deemed wiser not to meddle. In France, a Commission was deputed to Gheel, also, by the *Société Médico-Psychologique*. One member alone went there, and reported in the name of the Commission. That report is written with a view to satisfy the majority. Then we have the report of Dr. Carmichael McIntosh; may he have been more successful in his pictural sketches than in his description of what exists in Gheel—only his observations on the building of the infirmary with *carcere duos*, want of water, of space and gardens in the country, are but the reality and the work of the administration of Mons. Ducpétiaur.

We have not at hand the number of the *Journal of Mental Science* containing the report of a meeting of the Association of English Superintendents, in which Dr. de Mundy's proposition to discuss the *principle* of the Belgian system is treated, if not positively with disdain, at least, with little attention and less common politeness. Dr. Harrington Tuke, son-in-law of Dr. Conolly, who, in showing us round the private asylum kept by his mother in the fall of 1860, said, as a compliment, perhaps, that the house was conducted on the family-life system, declares now in that meeting that he would not go to Gheel, because his opinion is that the system of Gheel is *absurd*. Thereupon the President remarks flippantly that it would be difficult to form a commission composed of Drs. de Mundy and Harrington Tuke. Now, in spite of a poor national self-conceit to keep the *non-restraint* ahead of other systems, it is easy to see the decadence of

expensive asylums in England, where, by an unjust dispensation, some insane patients are kept confined in magnificent asylums, and others left to linger in jails or in poor and work-houses. Let the supporters of non-restraint in asylums remember that they are but half way—non-restraint must do its wonders in the free open fields. Until they will practice the Free-air System, occurrences of death from the brutality of attendants, terrible fights for death and life, struggles and murders perpetrated by the insane, will prove the danger of keeping lunatics in confinement without restraint of some form.

As we said in the beginning of this article, science has no special nationality, and medico-psychical science embraces the whole number of unfortunate lunatics, whatever be their rank, their color of skin, their religion, or the part of the world they inhabit. All benefactors of the insane, either poor or rich, have then the same right to our admiration. I remember to have read, some years ago, of a solemn commemorative feast of Pinel, in North America. However far distant from the Maison de Santé of Charenton, American alienists rejoice at the public glorification of the services rendered by Esquirol to humanity. But in the speech of Dr. Parchappe, inserted in the *Annales* of January 1863, the following opinions cannot pass without observation, indeed, his associates appeared to wonder at them. M. Parchappe, says the reporter, maintained, with an energy that escaped none present, that the claustral system of asylums was superior by far to that of free colonies and life in the free open air. He has specially ill-treated all late *innovations*, and proclaimed that the *walls even* of a mad-house are a remedy for insanity.

Concentration of insane—that is the law of M. Parchappe, but certainly not of the great man before whose statue he spoke, for Esquirol considered insanity as a disease that requires something more than a *wholesale* treatment. Yes, dispersion in the fields, family life, is and will be forever better than an immured life. Besides, many falsehoods are contained surreptitiously in that speech; for instance whoever of us said that the first peasant was the best person to protect and

cure insane patients? or that there was no more need any of psychopaths? Another question: Where and how have we tried to lower the medical profession? The reformers say, and M. Parchappe knows, that no real medical treatment can exist in any asylum in which there is not a sufficient staff of medical officers; and this applies to France, England, Germany, or America, in fact, wherever a medical officer has more than forty chronic and ten acute cases of insanity to treat.

The speech of the Inspector Parchappe was directly addressed to the material representation of Esquirol—not to his soul and the principles he has left us in his works. Matter and spirit occupy different spheres, and though united in our bodies, are often opposed to each other. Esquirol was too wise and too Christian to believe that brick and mortar were the *ultima ratio* of mental diseases.

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#### REPORT OF AN EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS FOR THE INSANE.\*

BY DR. D. TILDEN BROWN, PHYSICIAN OF THE BLOOMINGDALE ASYLUM, NEW YORK.

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[The following communication contains a summary of impressions received while seeking information for the benefit of an institution almost *unique* in christendom, and absolutely so in America. The Sheppard Asylum, when completed, will be the offspring of the philanthropic spirit of a single individual, who, having "begun life on the earthen floor of a log cabin," commenced its struggles as an orphan without kindred, overcame all obstacles and acquired ample wealth. Retaining the simple habits of his youth, he employed the rewards of his sagacity and economy in encouraging the industrious by timely assistance; in relieving the wants of the needy; in fostering benevolent efforts to improve the condition of a humble race, and closed his labors and his charities by bequeathing his whole estate, valued at six hun-

\* Made to the Trustees of "The Sheppard Asylum, at Baltimore, Maryland."

dred thousand dollars, to found and sustain an institution for the insane, whose distinctive feature should consist in this: that medical science should there be sustained by adequate pecuniary resources in its efforts to relieve the most intractable forms of mental alienation.\*]

TO JOHN SAURIN NORRIS, Esq.,

*President of "The Sheppard Asylum," Baltimore:*

DEAR SIR: In anticipation of the approaching annual meeting of the Trustees of the Sheppard Asylum, I hand you report of an inspection of certain European institutions for the insane, which the liberality of your Board enabled me to make during the past year.

The resolution authorizing this examination stated the object of the Trustees to be the procurement of information respecting the "construction, equipment, and organization" of such institutions, that it might be availed of in preparing their own building for its future uses, and in subsequently administering their important trust.

It was naturally supposed that such asylums as corresponded most nearly in their purpose with your own, would receive special attention. In accordance with this understanding, I sought counsel at London of the Commissioners in Lunacy for England, and at Edinburgh of the corresponding Board for Scotland. To Mr. Wilkes and Dr. Coxe, of these respective Commissions, I am indebted for suggestions and introductions, which enabled me to see favorable examples of the various classes of institutions coming under their official supervision.

None of these accorded entirely in character with the Sheppard Asylum, nor did I meet but a single close parallel to it throughout my tour. This is found at Neufchatel, in our sister republic of Switzerland, and is identical in its design and other peculiarities with your institution. I shall describe it particularly hereafter.

\*See Memoir of Moses Sheppard, by President J. S. Norris, in *JOURNAL OF INSANITY*, April, 1857.



To an American observer, Great Britain offers a much more profitable field for study in its institutions for the insane, than any continental country. Not only have medical science and general philanthropy there combined as zealously as elsewhere for the relief of every form of human suffering, but the similarity in language, customs, and mental habits existing between its people and our own, enables us to appreciate with general correctness what we see and hear among a population differing less than any other from that we have at home.

In their social character and usages, the people of Scotland are said to resemble Americans even more closely than do the English; and an American alienist, who has just passed through the comparatively quiet galleries of an English asylum, is at once reminded of his home experience by the more energetic manifestation of individual traits which prevails among the inmates of Scotch institutions. The prevailing method of providing for the insane in Scotland is another circumstance recalling associations familiar to ourselves, since it corresponds much more nearly to our own than that of England, where class distinctions seem to obstruct the rapid extension of an admirable system, which has hitherto attained but a limited development in that part of the kingdom, though ably advocated by distinguished physicians, and by a few eminent individuals interested in philanthropic reforms.

The principal Scotch asylums were erected and are governed by corporate societies, whose members are contributors to the necessary fund, being precisely the mode in which nearly all American asylums, excepting the State institutions, have been created and are managed.

Both prosperous and indigent patients are admitted, though in most cases occupying separate buildings, the style of accommodations depending on the rate of compensation paid in each case. As illustrating the success of this method of providing places of refuge for the victims of insanity, I may say that the Gartnavel Asylum, near Glasgow, seemed to me the most complete and spacious, and its department for private patients the most liberal in its equipment of any I saw in Great Britain. Built in the Tudor-

Gothic style of architecture, and of handsome greyish-colored stone, this institution is palatial in its dimensions, and quite as impressive, in its way, as those noble relics of feudal times, Windsor or Warwick Castles. Should the two divisions for private and pauper patients be hereafter united by an intermediate chapel with lateral passages, as contemplated in the original design, it would have but few rivals, and its tasteful, amply furnished apartments for prosperous patients, and the generous allowance of space for the indigent class, with the prevailing attention to the personal comfort of all, would seem to render it the *ne plus ultra* of asylum excellence.

The seven Royal Asylums of Scotland, as this class of institutions are called, contained on January 1st, 1861, 760 private patients and 1,890 of the pauper class.

But one or two institutions for the reception of paupers exclusively have as yet been erected by the districts into which the country is divided. This system, however, is likely to be much extended, to accommodate the thousands insane now in poor-house wards. In addition to the above, there are in Scotland seventeen private asylums, containing an aggregate of about one thousand patients.

As with public institutions, so it also happened that the private establishment which impressed me more favorably than any other I saw in the kingdom, was a Scotch retreat for affluent patients. The establishment of Drs. Smith and Lowe, near Edinburgh, comprises two buildings, Saughton Hall and the convalescent house of Balgreen. The former may have been, judging from its exterior, an ancient baronial residence, and, though very picturesque, is not peculiarly convenient for its present uses. The latter had been recently erected by the proprietors with special reference to the best accommodation of its occupants, and combined more perfectly the agreeable exterior of a modern villa and the internal arrangements of a well-devised asylum, than any building with which I am acquainted. The approach to the house revealed not the slightest indication of its actual character, and the large plate-glass windows, screened from the sun by gay awnings, dispelled all suspicion of restraint. Yet, these

opened but a few inches at top and bottom, thus insuring the measure of protection deemed requisite in that division of the establishment. The richness of the furniture, and the profusion of articles of taste throughout the rooms, indicated a liberality on the part of Drs. Smith and Lowe, which met a corresponding return from the wealthy invalids, who were naturally attracted hither by this deference to their accustomed requirements. Beautiful grounds surrounded both buildings, and in the midst of them stood a tastefully decorated music-hall, containing a piano, harp, and organ, to entice the patients as by an impromptu occasion.

In England, the various receptacles for the care and treatment of the insane are classed, as: 1st. County asylums, admitting paupers; 2d. "Hospitals," established and assisted by voluntary contributions; and 3d. Licensed houses, authorized by the Commissioners in Lunacy to receive insane persons as private boarders.

Among all these classes there exists a wide diversity of merit, both in the adaptation of the building to its uses and in the general management of its concerns. Some of the more modern county asylums are not only most appropriately arranged within, but are so constructed, both as to materials and style, as to command universal admiration; being solid and beautiful structures of stone, illustrating at once the wealth of an ancient and prosperous country, and that combination of taste and comfort which characterizes the better forms of English domestic architecture. The Derby County Asylum may be mentioned as one of the best expressions of this excellence, and it would be difficult for the most æsthetic and experienced guardian of the insane to conceive, or desire, a more perfect combination of building, management, grounds, and scenery, than there conjoin for the cure or solace of the insane poor of the county.

Of the fifteen or eighteen "Lunatic Hospitals" in England, the majority are defective in their buildings, and seem to be restricted in usefulness by insufficient incomes. There are two, however, which are generally conceded to be among the best of their class, apparently containing every essential desid-

eratum for the highest success. One of these, the Manchester Hospital, at Cheadle, accommodates about eighty patients of the middle classes, and the other, the Coton Hill Institution, at Stafford, a somewhat larger number, in a style with which, whether as to apartments, furniture, attendance, or facilities for rational diversion, any *reasonable* insane Englishman of those classes ought to be perfectly satisfied. Belonging to the same order of institutions, is one possessing historical fame and interest, which yet retains its early popularity, as well as its excellent reputation among medical men. The York Retreat, founded by the Society of Friends at the close of the last century, and hallowed in the memory of every one who appreciates the spirit of beneficence which originated it, and has ever since pervaded its halls, still pursues its sacred mission of removing and relieving mental diseases. Nowhere did I observe clearer evidence of intelligent and conscientious fulfilment of the humane purposes of all such institutions. The older sections of the building were being gradually replaced by new constructions, which conform interiorly to the present standard of advancement, and as for that personal devotion of the chief officers, on which the welfare of patients must mainly depend, it was sufficiently apparent that the genius and the earnestness of Tuke still abide among his successors.

Bethlehem and St. Luke's Hospitals still continue to be occupied as *receptacles* for the insane. Any term implying a more enlightened humanity than this, would seem an insult to English intelligence and philanthropy. The Commissioners in Lunacy and other friends of the insane, have long sought to induce the removal of these institutions from the densely built districts of London to the open country, but hitherto without success. The only prospect now presented from their windows, are masses of closely packed city houses, and the usual scenes of city streets, while the range for out-door exercise is restricted to the narrow limits of small and gloomy enclosures. Of course the great value of the sites now occupied by these buildings would enable the Governors, in conjunction with their permanent funds, to provide in each case

a model establishment in the most eligible suburban positions. Each institution, however, possesses an income sufficiently generous to fortify its Governors in indulging the good old English trait of obstinate adherence to their own will, and it being their will to retain their institutions where they are, for the reason that they have existed where they stand from time immemorial, and as this reason gathers strength daily, there these hospitals will probably remain until the New Zealand artist, whose eventual arrival Mr. Macauley has predicted, takes his seat on the "crumbling pier of London bridge" to begin his sketch of the "ancient ruins of St. Paul's Church." If nothing else shall then be left of the present monumental glories of the great city, Bethlehem and St. Luke's will doubtless continue to stand to prove that nothing can so long resist the tooth of time, or the encroachment of reform as the conceit and prejudices of the Governors of a well-endowed charity.

Private licensed houses for the custody and treatment of insane patients, are even more numerous in England than in Scotland, relatively to the population. According to the fifteenth report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, there were in England and Wales, on January 1st, 1861, one hundred and thirty-four such licensed houses, containing four thousand one hundred and three insane boarders. At the same date, there were, in seventeen "Lunatic Hospitals," two thousand one hundred and forty-four patients; and in forty-two county and borough asylums, over eighteen thousand inmates. With a total of about twenty-five thousand insane to be supported, isolated from society and humanely provided for, it is not strange that the people and Parliament of Great Britain should have deemed a supervisory commission a desirable check against secret abuses. That this commission entertains more or less distrust of the system of caring for the insane in private licensed houses, is plainly obvious in their annual reports, and yet it is a system which accords more harmoniously with the domestic habits and reserve of the people than any which involves greater risk of exposing the patient to public observation. There seems to be no good reason why it should not be perpetuated under a judicious oversight by the Commis-



sioners. All that is requisite to secure a full measure of comfort and justice to the patients, and protection to the feelings and privacy of their families, is that properly qualified persons be selected as Commissioners.

The better class of licensed houses are usually the former residences of wealthy families, and may be unexceptionable dwellings for the small number of patients they contain. Several that I saw presented the appearance of cheerful and most comfortable homes for invalids of quiet, orderly dispositions, such as seemed to be the almost only occupants. How patients laboring under the excitement of acute mania can be properly cared for in buildings so devoid of necessary facilities for such service, as an ordinary private dwelling, I can not well understand. In the vicissitudes of a wet and cold winter, one would expect much discomfort to attend such experiments, even in the mild climate of England.

Notwithstanding the ostensibly ample accommodation which public and private enterprise would seem to have prepared for the insane population of England, there exists in reality a keenly felt want of further extension of this accommodation, or rather of a special form thereof. While affluent patients find a ready refuge in the licensed houses of competing proprietors, and county paupers a luxurious home in their respective asylums, another class, whose means or labor are taxed to provide thus for the non-producers of society, would, under the same affliction of insanity, be absolutely without a place of retreat, for there is no adequate provision throughout a large portion of England for insane persons whose moderate incomes raise them above want, but do not release them from pecuniary pressure under the visitation of sickness. A very large class of persons are necessarily liable to this exigency, and their system of protection of their insane which the people of England congratulate themselves upon being nearly perfect, will be incomplete until this exigency is provided for. The simple and efficacious provision in the laws of most of the American States, securing such persons admission into the State asylums at the public expense, until a fair trial of the curability of their malady shall be had, and preserving their

small property for the use of their families meanwhile, seems to have no parallel in England. Efforts are making to meet this want by the establishment of "middle-class asylums" by voluntary subscription; but should these be erected, it is contemplated to charge each patient a higher or lower sum for board.

Passing from England to Holland, attracted by the wide fame of the new asylum at Meeremberg, near Haarlem, I was well repaid by the satisfaction afforded the visitor to this extensive institution, which unites the respective features of our own State and corporate asylums. Patients of the highest and lowest social caste here dwell under the same roof without apparent offense to the prejudices of the former, since the distinctions of their previous relations are preserved by a classification which still effectually separates one from the other—the different divisions of the building having independent entrances from common corridors of communication.

The Meeremberg Asylum occupies the domain of a former noble owner, still adorned with the evidences of his affluence and taste. In the beauty of its grounds, no institution which I saw could compare favorably with this. Here were avenues nearly a mile long, and broad as those of our best parks, lined with noble elms and beeches; two large lakes which furnished the patients with amusement in fishing or skating, according to the season; dense plantations of shade trees, affording an impenetrable screen from the sun; open lawns, made to rival those of England by irrigation; and flower-gardens, such as are yet undreamt of in our utilitarian philosophy. And as if to afford a special stimulus to minds which disease might render indifferent to a monotony of loveliness, Nature has raised in close proximity to all these creations of human art and taste, a range of hills—the "sand duers" of the coast—to attract by the novelty those who tire of the artificial beauty below.

In direct contrast to this Dutch paradise, and as if to rival it in its claims to admiration, we find the Prefargier Asylum, near Neufchatel in Switzerland. From an elevated site, it looks out upon a magnificent panorama, in which Nature has

left neither excuse nor space for man to rival her own handiwork. On one side lies a landscape teeming with the wealth of agricultural thrift; on the other, the broad surface of the Lake of Neuchâtel; and around, all the lofty mountains of the Jura and the snow-crowned Alps reaching in long perspective from the Bernese division to the great Mount Blanc. In the centre of such scenes the brightest jewel of Swiss philanthropy has found a setting as lovely and unique as itself. The "Prefargier Institution," as it is called, deserves our especial attention, as being an almost exact counterpart of the Sheppard Asylum in its origin and character. It is the creation of the benevolence and munificence of Mr. Augustus de Menron, a native of Neuchâtel, who, having acquired wealth as a South American merchant, returned to his country, and devoted the sum of six hundred thousand dollars to erect and endow an asylum for the care and treatment of one hundred curable patients. Mr. de Menron gave his personal attention to the development of his humane design, and appears to have studied very thoroughly the whole subject of insanity in its relation to his purpose. The building, which is the joint design of Messrs. Fabret and Ferris, two eminent Parisian alienists, and of M. Phillipon, an equally distinguished architect of France, is in the prevailing French form and style—a quadrangle intersected by corridors of communication. The arrangement of rooms is adapted to the accommodation of three classes of patients, all of whom are charged more or less for care and treatment, according to their means and the division they occupy. The first, or indigent class, are charged fifteen cents per day; the second, forty cents per day; and the third, a higher rate, which is determined in each instance by a Committee of the Managers. None but natives or residents of the Canton of Neuchâtel are admitted at the lowest rate. The building is divided symmetrically between the two sexes, and each department has five sub-divisions for purposes of classification. Special attention has been given to avoid direct appearance of constraint, by omitting the usual guards from

the windows of the majority of the apartments. The doors and windows of the first story open upon airing courts, inclosed by sunken walls, which prevent elopement, while they permit views of the country, and thus no impediment to exit is necessary at the window. The dormitories of the second story have no other guards than inside shutters, which are closed and locked at night. Patients are not allowed to remain in these rooms during the day. A few strong rooms for seclusion of violent patients are amply secure for their purpose. The building is warmed by a hot-water apparatus; the radiators being placed in the apartments, and its practical operation is said to be satisfactory. It was also claimed that an adequate ventilation was secured by means of the same apparatus; but such result could not be inferred from an inspection of the asylum during the summer. A picturesque and inviting form of water-cure found at Prefargier is the lake bath. A large wooden building, constructed on the margin of the lake, contains a spacious and safe swimming bath, and other smaller baths. A portion of the building serves for laundry purposes. The swimming bath is said to be much resorted to by the patients, and I could readily believe that they should prefer it to the six hours' soaking in a continuous warm bath, in covered bath-tubs, which four men were undergoing during my visit. This mode of treatment in mental affections is much in vogue in French asylums, but some superintendents expressed much distrust of its efficacy, and fears of its bad influence in prostrating the patient.

The benevolent founder of the Prefargier Institution having died after it had been in operation about four years, his remains were buried in the grounds of the asylum. His resting place is marked by a modest sarcophagus, which bears this inscription:

"Mr. Auguste Fred'k de Menron, born 26 Aug., 1789, died 1st April, 1852."

The real monument to his memory is the noble institution which he founded. That his benevolence has been bountifully blessed, is shown by the long list of sufferers restored to health and reason in the refuge created by his bounty, and

those who feel an interest in the problem which the late Moses Sheppard, of Baltimore, prompted by the same sympathy for his fellow beings which animated Auguste de Menron, must contemplate with lively satisfaction an example which the Sheppard Asylum will soon emulate with a hearty zeal.

In Germany, I visited but a single asylum—a new one just completed, but not yet occupied, at Frankfort. Complete plans and descriptions of this and several other new German institutions for the insane, either recently opened or not yet finished, are contained in a volume issued by the Government of Hanover, of which I procured a copy. The Frankfort institution belongs to the municipality of that city, and is a very costly building, designed to receive three hundred patients. It presents few attractions to an American physician. All the windows are heavily guarded in a conspicuous manner, and many of the fixtures were cumbrous and ungainly. The whole building comprised several quadrangles, which would here be regarded as objectionable, and the interior did not compensate for this sacrifice of outer cheerfulness. It seemed, however, to be regarded as a great success, and on the day of my visit, several asylum physicians from other parts of Germany were inspecting it, and expressing warm approval of its arrangements. Porcelain stoves, such as are commonly found in the houses of the country, were to be used in the best apartments. Patients paying the higher rates were to have a generous room and a stove to themselves, while the class below have a separate room, but one stove is made to serve two patients, by placing it in an opening in the partition. This method of warming was admitted by the physician to be a concession to the domestic customs of the people, and was not employed in the apartments of the excited, demented or epileptic paupers, where steam heat would be introduced.

Throughout my tour I was surprised by the indifference prevailing among the Medical Superintendents of asylums, respecting the warming and ventilation of their buildings. Even in Great Britain there was no apparent interest felt in a matter, which in this country is regarded as of prime importance. At one of the very best institutions, the physician who



had been in charge fifteen years, told me that he had never seen the hot water apparatus in the basement, which supplied part of the warmth for his patient's comfort. It was the duty of the engineer, he remarked, to keep the apparatus in good condition. Open fires in the halls and day-rooms are found throughout England and Scotland, and seem to be mainly relied on to insure a comfortable temperature. As to ventilation: So little is the natural form esteemed, that in most modern buildings I visited, the window-sash were of iron and built into the masonry. One or two lights in each window were hung with hinges, and were sometimes open. The air in these buildings at the time of my visit was not offensive, but was often close and oppressive.

Of mechanical ventilation, by steam-fan power, so general in our large asylums, I neither saw nor heard anything. Prof. Acland, of Oxford University, physician to the Prince of Wales, told me there was not a ventilated hospital or asylum in England. He regarded the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane at Philadelphia, as much superior to any in Great Britain, not only in this particular, but as a whole.

In France, architectural art in its relations to the comfortable custody of the insane, seems as yet to have been as zealously neglected as the science of psychological medicine has been cultivated and developed. Not that asylum architecture has had no students or advocates, but the prevailing mode of construction seems founded on the supposition that the insane, like the sane population, are to live out of doors most of the year, and that therefore it is useless to waste much thought on their dwellings. The present Inspector General of asylums throughout France, M. Parchappe, has published a comprehensive and valuable work on the subject of asylum architecture, containing plans and descriptions of buildings in various countries, including the United States. This gentleman and other leading physicians in the specialty, have endeavored to promote the construction of new and appropriate buildings for the insane poor of Paris, but hitherto without success. Those vast caravanseries for the poor of Paris, both sane and insane, the Salpêtrière and Bicêtre, are only worthy of

mention from their historical association with the honored name of Pinel, and the immense national or Imperial institution of Charenton, though officially declared to be the model for all future government asylums, is scarcely better deserving contemplation. The best public institutions for the insane in France are found in the provinces, where there are some two or three of meritorious character. Numerous private establishments exist in the neighborhood of Paris, for the care of self-supporting patients. Several of these were seen under circumstances peculiarly favorable to my purpose, especially those of Messrs. Blanche, Moreau and Pinel. The former of these gentlemen occupies the ancient chateau of the Marchioness of Lamballe, the beautiful friend of Marie Antoinette, who expiated her friendship for the unhappy Queen in a violent death at the hands of a delirious populace. M. Moreau is the present proprietor of the institution created by the celebrated Esquirol. M. Pinel's residence was once the mansion of M. Thiers, while Minister of Louis Phillipe. There is little else to be said of these establishments than that they serve their present purpose, as well probably as any of their class, but old chateaux are not model asylums, and can only be regarded as expedients, when better structures are unattainable.

One institution of France which has attracted much attention from foreigners of late years, deserves notice for this reason. The colony of St. James, as it is called, is situated at Clermont, about 40 miles from Paris, and is in reality an immense private asylum, belonging to four brothers, the Messrs. Labitte. It contains about twelve hundred patients, a large proportion of whom are paupers, sent here by the neighboring communes. The remainder are private individuals, paying various rates of board, but all less than is charged by the institutions near Paris, even the highest rate being a moderate one. In the principal buildings there is absolutely nothing deserving notice; but at the distance of a mile, the proprietors occupy a large farm from which to provide their household with various products. A considerable number of patients of both sexes reside on the premises and perform the

necessary labor. The men are employed in tillage and the care of stock; the women in an extensive laundry. A few higher class male patients occupy the old mansion of the estate. This farm, with its residents, constitutes the "Colony of Fitz James," and gives rise to all the notoriety the place possesses. It is at once obvious that the same title might with equal propriety be applied to any large rural county asylum of England, and to every State asylum of the United States. The enthusiastic admiration which has been bestowed upon the vaunted system of colonization of the insane as exemplified at St. James, has been, in my opinion, based upon a partial appreciation of all the circumstances, and on equally imperfect acquaintance with the large institutions of other countries. I found at the main department of Clermont a former patient of my own, and through her family had opportunities for confirming the impression expressed above. There can be no doubt that the interests of a private enterprise have favored the publicity and favorable impressions respecting St. James, which have already become so wide-spread.

The conclusions to which I was lead respecting the "construction, equipment and organization" of such European institutions as I saw, and as viewed in comparison with those of our own country, may be thus stated:

*First.*—That considering the number of patients in any particular institution; their previous social position and mode of life; their actual personal comfort, so far as this is affected by architectural arrangements, and their appropriate classification on a medical basis, the best European asylums are not superior to the best in the United States.

*Second.*—That those multifarious provisions for the personal well-being and contentment of their patients, which may be included in the term "equipment," comprising the proportionate number of officers and attendants; the abundance and style of furniture, and the tasteful adornment of apartments; in the frequency of excursions to places of interest, and by rural diversions; and especially in the universal effort to render these places of abode agreeable, by surrounding them with every embellishment of landscape, gardening, and floriculture—our

hard-working, utilitarian, pleasure-despising people are in arrear of the theory and practice prevailing in the highest class institutions of Great Britain.

*Thirdly.*—The organization of the best European institutions, after undergoing every conceivable modification, has finally settled into that form which common experience in other departments of human effort should have suggested from the beginning. Having tried innumerable experiments with a divided authority and responsibility, and a system of checks against official malfeasance, founded on antagonism amongst the very officers whose harmonious coöperation was necessary for the success of the institution, the Governing Boards at last reached the point of view where common-sense had been awaiting them for half a century. The Commissioners of Lunacy for England are entitled to much credit for aiding to bring about this important change in that country. The result is, that simplicity and efficiency have taken the place of indefiniteness and sloth, and many an antiquated and languishing institution has awakened into a vigorous prosperity. The prevailing form of government in the asylums of Great Britain now consists of a Board of Managers, who conduct the finances, supervise the general administration, and who represent the friends of patients, and protect the interests of the institution as well as of the community, by a frequent inspection of its condition. As their agent, the Medical Superintendent, who is supposed to possess the fullest confidence of the Managers, so long as they permit him to occupy his office, has entire charge of every department of the establishment, on the supposition that the welfare of the patients is the great purpose of the institution, and that every agency employed is presumptively promoting this purpose. By this combination of responsibility and authority, it is assumed that the best qualities and highest ambition of the chief officer will be called into action.

In closing this communication, I desire to express to the Trustees of the Sheppard Asylum my cordial thanks for the generous action on their part, by which I was enabled to make a tour long contemplated, but uncertain of accomplish-

ment. The satisfaction it afforded me was not diminished by finding that in all essentials of a satisfactory provision for its insane, our own country was not inferior to the older and richer communities of Europe. Still there was much to be seen possessing great interest to an American physician, and I cannot withhold the acknowledgment that if the Sheppard Asylum has not gained much by the liberality of its Trustees in this instance, I have reaped such benefit and pleasure as will bountifully repay any service I may have already rendered your Institution, or can render it hereafter.

Desiring for the noble Institution under your charge the highest measure of usefulness in its future career,

I am, Sir, very gratefully,

Your obedient servant,

D. TILDEN BROWN, M. D.

BLOOMINGDALE ASYLUM FOR THE INSANE, }  
NEW YORK CITY, April 30, 1863. }

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[From the Medical Critic and Psychological Journal.]

## PHYSIOGNOMY OF THE INSANE.\*

BY DR. LAURENT,

ONE OF THE PHYSICIANS TO THE QUATRE MARES ASYLUM; CORRESPONDING MEMBER  
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"The study of the Physiognomy of Lunacy is not the indulgence merely of idle curiosity; it assists in developing the character of those ideas and emotions that constitute the accession of that malady. What interesting results may not flow from such an investigation?"—ESQUIROL. Vol. ii, Chap. 12.

### I.

What part is more deserving of the careful attention of the physician than the countenance? What study more important for him than that which has for its object the special expression of the several characteristics that are there met with?

\*Translated from the *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*, March, 1863.



In truth, who does not fix his eye and mind upon this centre of the several elements of which man is composed, or, as Aristotle expressed it, upon this miniature of the entire human being? Lavater, who made physiognomy the special object of his research, discovered in the countenance a microcosm, accurately representing the king of creation. According to him, in the face may be seen all the signs of the power of the understanding, the indications of its moral force, together with its desires, its irritability, the sympathies and antipathies of which it is susceptible, the power it has of attracting or repelling external objects; in fact, the condition of its physical and animal forces. No one has pursued the study of physiognomy more than the Zurich moralist; and it is to be regretted, as Moreau de la Sarthe justly said, in his fine introduction to his works, that Lavater had not the anatomical knowledge of a physician.

The importance of physiognomy certainly did not escape the observing genius of the ancients, for the study of the indications furnished by facial expression occupies a considerable space in their writings. Hippocrates, in his work on *Prognostics*, takes great pains to describe all that relates to the face, and so likewise have his commentators and the most illustrious subsequent representatives of the medical profession.

Notwithstanding, it will readily be conceived that from the new impulse latterly given to the exact sciences, materials would be added quite enough to form a compendium of more solid and less problematical knowledge. Such has been the fact; and without citing the names of all those who have transmitted to us their observations on this subject, I shall mention Quelmartz, who, in 1748, sustained at Leipsig a thesis, entitled *De prosoposcopia medica*; François Cabuchet, who published in the year X. a series of representations of the various expressions of which the face is capable; Landré Beauvais and Double, who have left us some detailed essays on the subject of semiology. Sir Charles Bell has brought forward the greater part of the ideas and descriptions made

known in the works of Lavater by Moreau in his essay on the "Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression." All treatises on general pathology mention the importance which Jadelot, the famous physician to the hospital for children, attached to the various expressions or salient lines in the face, as well as the significance he gave to them in forming his prognosis. Kælp, in a work entitled "*De facie in morbis*," carried still further the study of these signs, and established numerous subdivisions. Lastly, Dr. Duchenne, of Boulogne, employed the electric current in the study of the facial muscles, and thus endeavored to establish the real functions of this system.

If physiognomy be an interesting subject for the study of the physician, it is more especially in that branch of the art which owes its progress to the talents of Pinel and Esquirol. In the investigation of mental alienation it is especially important to consider the numberless and frequent modifications manifested in the countenances of individuals under the diverse impressions and varied emotions experienced. Here the subject becomes much more intricate. The physical condition suffices no longer. We must not confine ourselves to the emaciation of the countenance, the greater or less extent of color in the cheeks, the degree of tone in the muscular fibres. We must connect these different modifications with those of the mental condition. We have, consequently, to examine the harmony existing between each constituent part of the visage, and its relative significance with the manifestations of an active, intelligent, and sensitive being. We must appeal to the analysis of each of the mental faculties.

I do not think any one will doubt that there can be a more useful study for the mental physician. Long ago physiologists demonstrated that the face is a mirror of the health of both body and mind; and the science of the relation of the physical to the moral has taught us that the actions of the mind, although so numerous, are represented in all their gradations by the physiognomy, and that their manner of reproduction is subject to invariable laws. It is on this account that the passions have the same expression throughout the entire human race. If disturbances so profound and abrupt as the

passions are apparent to the generality of mankind, if joy and grief act constantly through the same nerves, and on the same muscles, it follows that the other acts of the soul have recourse, for their demonstration, to similar instruments. If these manifestations are not always apparent, it is from want of ability in the observer; and the physiognomist ought to be gifted with extreme delicacy of perception, because he has to do with phenomena, it matters not whether normal or morbid, which very readily escape detection. We are thus obliged to confess that we meet in the physiognomy with the same discord that is noticed in a more elevated sphere, and are reminded that the various degrees of delirium and insanity remain perceptible on the countenance.

The absurd pretension is not, however, advanced that it is possible to read in the countenance all that an individual can think about, or every psychical fancy that may arise. Ideas and combinations of ideas, or acquired knowledge, never will be recognizable in the countenance. But the degree of sensibility, the different moods of that faculty, the capacity of intelligence, the greater or less developed influence of the will—these are subjects upon which, by means of *prosoposcopy*, the observation of man may throw light both in the normal and the pathological condition.

Shall I be progressing too fast if I endeavor to show that the mental trouble of the lunatic is depicted on his countenance? The following proof may be permitted: Ask an intelligent and clever artist to portray the features of a lunatic whom he has known previous to the invasion of his malady; to depict him such as he was before his mental faculties were injured. Follow him while he traces the outline during the analysis of the countenance that he is obliged to make in order to reconstitute a being endowed with reason and free will. What a beautiful study of the relations between physiognomy and the mental faculties! Unfortunately, among the medical men who devote themselves to the specialty, there are very few artists who have the power of depicting the physiognomy of the patients under their care, and consequently of comparing the expression manifested at different epochs. Many

characteristics are forgotten ; one remembers only the most prominent, and the pen is not capable of describing all the important peculiarities. The artist's pencil is essential. The possibility of supporting my proposition may be conceived by employing the method I have indicated.

The celebrated Guislain, who himself took several portraits of lunatics, which were afterwards engraved in his work, ("*Leçons orales sur les phrénopathies*,") would not have insisted in so marked a manner on that which he styles the *mask* of the madman, if his acquaintance with art had not allowed him to analyze the changes of the countenance. It must be confessed, notwithstanding, that his physiognomical studies are still imperfect. He was not the only specialist who saw the importance to physiognomy of the art of design. Esquirol realized the thought by adding some portraits of insane persons to his immortal work. He attached great importance to such pursuits. The illustrious practitioner intended to publish more detailed observations on this subject, and for that purpose had the portraits of more than two hundred of the alienated taken. Dr. Morel, in his "*Clinical Observations*," has also inserted a great number of sketches. In each of these representations, it is to be regretted that, after having pointed out at which epoch of the complaint the artist was employed, the same individual was not depicted during the several stages of the mental disorder, as well as when convalescent. Esquirol did this in one case of mania only.

This gap in psychopathical symptomology is being daily filled up. I saw, in September, 1860, with the greatest satisfaction, at the Stephensfeld Asylum, a room where Dr. Dagonet employs himself in taking what appear to him the most striking types of disease. M. Morel has just constructed, at St. Yon, a photographic studio, wherein he takes the various physiognomies presented by the alienated to the eye of the physician.

In 1858, the late Dr. Ferrus, Inspector-General, caused a daguerreotype to be taken of the face of a madman who killed the much respected Dr. Geoffroy, then the chief physician.

Three portraits were taken in different positions, one full face, another three-quarter, and the third in profile.

I should very much have liked to append to this essay a certain number of photographs, and thus complete, by such satisfactory proofs, the researches to which for many years I have applied myself, for pictures are more easy of comprehension than all the verbal descriptions at one's command. I must produce somewhat later this indispensable complement to the present work.

## II.

In medical phraseology the word *physiognomy* (*φύσις*, nature; *νομος*, disposition, law,) expresses nature's manner of being, the natural facial expression of the individual, both physical and moral; the expression of the entirety, of the combination of the special attribute of each constituent portion of the face, of the peculiar expression of every modification, whether transient or fixed, of these same parts.

But in psychopathical prosoposcopy we must understand, under the name of *face*, something more than is ordinarily understood by this term of topographic anatomy, or, at all events, we must add, in the study of the physiognomy of the insane, an examination of the different parts which have an important though distant relation with the countenance—such as the head in general, the hair, ears, &c. Each of these organs contributes more or less to complete the expression of the physiognomy, which besides, whatever people may think, very imperfectly exists, if we try to separate them.

The face, strictly speaking, is made up of the forehead, the eyes, the nose, cheeks, mouth, and chin. It is founded on an osseous framework, which is not without its value to the observer. Upon the skeleton are fixed the numerous muscular fibres, the movements of which express the varied changes of the mind. No other part of the human body has so great a number. There is no part richer in nervous filaments, and consequently of which the sensibility is more developed. In fact, without speaking of the nerves of special sense, we meet on the one hand the trifacial nerve, which gives sensation by



means of its ophthalmic and superior maxillary branches, and to some extent by its mixed offshoot; and on the other, the three *motores oculorum*, the masticator, (the nonganglionic portion of the inferior maxillary,) and the facial, which preside over motion. Many other parts, less important to our present consideration, and interspersed among the preceding, are finally covered, as well as those I have just summarily pointed out, by that protecting and sensitive covering which we call the skin.

That which is styled in the language of physiognomy the *visage*, is only one portion of the face, and extends from the upper lip to the top of the forehead.

The pursuit of physiognomy would be indeed a vain pretension if we left unnoticed the numerous pathological changes to which these parts are subjected. In fact, the morbid alterations that may happen should be kept constantly before our eyes. This is the most serious objection that has ever been advanced against the exactness of this study. I shall do no more than reply, that by analysis we are able to distinguish the cause of a pathological change, and that we may, by reason and attention, reestablish the primitive symmetry that has been destroyed, and reconstruct the countenance in its natural condition. Therein especially consists the talent of the observer, who divines the general expression from the physiological data thus acquired.

But the principles essential to psychopathical prosoposcopy are not limited to normal and pathologic anatomy. The alienist, more than any other other physician, ought to possess an amount of philosophical knowledge sufficient to enable him to apply to the physiological expression of every period of life the instinctive tendencies as well as voluntary and intellectual manifestations or operations that belong to it. It is only on such conditions that it is possible to treat a mental affection in the proper way, if we do not wish chance to determine the results obtained and the experience deduced.

Every age is subject to invariable physiological laws. Their application is not attended with difficulty, except under the influence of a certain number of very variable causes, the

study of which forms the subject of public and private hygiene. Moreover, these causes must be extremely powerful, in order so decidedly to influence the established order of nature. Psychopathical prosoposcopy is a verification of this admirable code.

Let us follow for an instant the parellel of the development of the physiognomy and of the intellectual being. This will be to us a paragraph preliminary to a description of the morbid manifestations we have presently to examine.

Man on the threshold of existence appears up to a certain point in the condition of an individual, who, about to visit a stranger whom he has never seen, and whose virtues and failings have never been described to him, is at the time of entrance in a high state of incertitude as to the manner he should assume on presentation, and the reception he is likely to meet with. The physiognomy of an infant at birth has clearly an expression of general doubt about the powers that preside over its material and psychical existence. We find no indication of the disposition afterwards manifested. It is an entirety containing in fact the elements of a differential nature that will be developed eventually, according as the various circumstances are favorable or not. The senses have as yet received no impression: the perceptions are confused. Instinctive life alone is powerful; sensibility is rudimentary. The countenance is incapable of receiving the impress of the sensations of hunger, of thirst, of pleasure, or grief. The forehead has neither the expansion nor contraction which will show themselves hereafter as the consequence of agreeable or disagreeable sensations. The eyelids, scarcely opened, display immovable pupils quite unfit to measure the amount of luminous rays adapted to the retina. The mouth has only the conservative movement of suction, and the repose consecutive to it. The lineaments of the face have yet to be engraved. The intellectual and voluntary are nearly absent.

But let a few weeks or months elapse, and see how complete a revolution has been effected. The various emotions make their way, and bring us the materials for solving this complex problem. We begin to discern which part appears set apart

for natural instinctive or intellectual tendencies, if they have not been swerved from the purpose by pernicious influences. We already notice an aptitude for acquiring. By degrees the head takes a special shape; the osseous portions solidify more and more; the face becomes more or less elongated or round, and acquires a special type; the hair assumes a definitive color and mode of insertion. The osseous protuberances attain their prominence; the fleshy masses are exercised in movement, and become proportionally developed. The repetition of these mechanical acts with their consequent traces, enables us to analyse to which faculty they are due. The expression of the look becomes the complement to these manifestations.

In proportion to the advance of age, the signs become less mobile or fugitive, and more easy of comprehension. Up to between twelve and fifteen years there comes to be painted on our canvas, in the portion reserved for sensibility, a greater or less lively impressionability, a constant agitation resulting from irresistible impulses of the instinct—a curiosity proportioned to the ignorance and the intellectual activity of the child, an imitative faculty in ratio with the power of psychical force. We there perceive the development of many sentiments and passions, such as sympathy and antipathy, the source of benevolent and malevolent affections; hatred, hope, fear, emulation, envy, timidity, bashfulness, pride, and obstinacy. The progression of intelligence is marked by distinction of sensations, birth of ideas, efforts of imagination, consolidation of the memory, the variable possibility of attention. The will, as yet, exercises but a feeble sway, and appears only at short intervals, at first by what is vulgarly called caprice, subsequently by the direction of the attention, the recall of past experience, the operations of determination.

But it is really only after the epoch of from twelve to fifteen that physiognomy becomes of importance to the observer. This arises from the simultaneous influence of the formation of both moral and intellectual habits, and the progressive development of the imagination. The character which the physiognomy has acquired at the termination of that period

is preserved evermore. It experiences some modifications ; but these, although they may change it a little, never destroy the type, which, so to speak, has arrived at its zenith at the end of adolescence. We have left the child eager after every kind of moral and physical progress. The sensibility becomes more refined by the advantages of education and social converse ; and we can admire at that age, more than others, the importance of the part it is destined to play as a provocative power, as a medium between the external and internal worlds, as a monitor of the aims of our existence, and as a necessary condition to the struggle which human liberty must sustain. A new sentiment holds an elevated position and influences all the faculties ; a sentiment which has relation to all beings of an opposite sex and of the same age—love—which may assume enormous proportions, and become a passion ruinous to the entire individual. We notice, also, all the degrees and diverse modifications of the sentient being. “The intellect does not yet arrive at its height of development, but it possesses all the kinds of faculties that it can have. The judgment is sufficiently developed to encounter the most arduous difficulties of human knowledge in science and art. The adolescent can learn everything, but he cannot yet discover and invent all that the human mind can originate. He cannot yet sufficiently observe and reason. The dominant intellectual faculties are memory, which is happy and faithful ; imagination, which is lively and brilliant, although little controlled by judgment. Hereafter will come its turn of superiority, but that time has not yet arrived.”\*

Neither has the will attained the force reserved for maturer age. Insensibly the individual acquires the consciousness of power to make determinations ; he essays to give direction to his intellectual acts ; he searches, at the cost of long and painful efforts, to ratify his empire over the intellect. He already perceives the extent of the responsibility attached to the consequences of his resolutions and actions.

Let us once again consider with what precision the physi-

\* Gerdy.

ognomy obeys the orders of the soul? The affective sensations, (pleasures and pains of the body, pleasures and pains of the spirit, pleasures and pains of the heart,) the passions, have each one there its special representative, and in that place take right of domicile, according as the natural or acquired disposition of the individual, and an infinity of causes that are too numerous to be here enumerated, determine their greater or less frequent or constant reproduction. Their traces are proportioned to their duration. As constituent elements, we may mention the dilatation, the contraction, the tension of the features, the motion and repose of each of the mobile portions of the face, the vivacity, the languor of the look, the fixity or variety of color. It is at this age that the characteristic sign of the intelligence is best reflected, and this image will be more or less perfect according as the psychical influence triumphs over the animal nature, that the human being feels more or less deeply the influence of an upper world, and as his heart sympathises with that which is noble, beautiful, and generous.

To the organs that belong more especially to animal life, is due the expression of gross and bad thoughts, of wild and cruel passions, of which the lower part of the face is the most faithful mirror. The more noble sentiments seem to converge towards a higher region, and aid essentially towards the personification of the beau ideal, which is the most perfect character of that period of life. The intellectual and voluntary forces are specially represented within a triangle having the two eyes for a base, and the summit in the centre of the forehead; but the intellect is above all interpreted by the eyes.

During the two following periods, wherein youth and manhood are united, the intellect and will attain all their power. Imagination, which we have seen so influential in adolescence, so ready to combine ideas, submits to reason. In the second period, inspiration takes a secondary place with most men, and is omnipotent only with some individuals. Moreover, this creative faculty rarely persists in a high state of development, without detriment to such important faculties as the judgment and moral sensibility. Reason is really the sovereign that



ought to reign supreme in the psychological domain of intellect ; it has at its command the intellectual forces of attention, abstraction, comparison, generalization, induction, and deduction. The will is enthroned close beside him, and the two united become the source of the dignity of man. Meantime, although shorn of its beams, instinct is never entirely lost, and as Collineau has well expressed it, "man, with his tastes and desires so numerous and diverse, has never sufficient instinct to be independent of intellect, nor enough intellect to need instinct no longer."

But parallel with the development of the moral conscience, will be found to run that of a great number of passions that properly belong to this page of the physiological history of man, such as cupidity, ambition, debauch, love of gaming, and the horrible emotions it brings in its train ; hatred, jealousy, and with them dissimulation, hypocrisy, proofs of the intimate knowledge that man possesses of his power to control his passions, and in the words of Rochefoucault, "the homage paid by life to the will."

Descuret has designed a chart of the qualities and defects that are principally met with in the chief professions, adding the best marked advantages and inconveniences which are presented by each of them. An examination of this precious document cannot fail to be useful to the medical philosopher in investigating the present subject.

This is the proper place to describe the mask pertaining to each passion, and every psychological type ; but I thought I should be travelling out of the course I laid down for myself by detailing over and above it an essential part of physiognomy that may be studied in special works.

Let us proceed to the more advanced periods of human existence, the age of decline, senility. The age of decline merits a special description in woman. It is an epoch of profound perturbation, of an organic motion with variable tendencies, which may determine in her well-marked disturbances of the mental state, or recall to the healthy condition an economy the victim of sickly modifications dating from an epoch often long past. The countenance does not feel it

less than the organism and the intellect. With man the revolution is less manifest, and may almost be passed over in silence. Although the aggregate material receives different impulses, the psychical element does not perceive, in a very distinct manner, the result of the work which has been effected until old age appears.

This latter has well-marked characters. It has been the subject of frequent meditation. Diverse philosophic theories have been founded on it. It is the most positive proof we can have of the highly natural division of the three psychical faculties, a division the French school has especially employed itself in developing. It is our irrefragable proof of the dynamic alliance of the two diverse principles of nature, the material whole and the immaterial being. Besides, in considering the more lofty faculties, intellect and will, we see that both judgment and reason persist the longest and ordinarily preserve their superiority over the other faculties. We have seen the imagination decrease: that decrease continues. The exclusive products of imagination are only met with exceptionally, and the works of the learned are the result of experience and reason. Memory is also enfeebled; the organic element, which evidently plays an important part in these intellectual phenomena, loses more and more of its power of preserving recent impressions. The recollection of distant facts remains a long time, and the association of ideas is attached not less to anterior acts. The will also remains well developed, when the individual has not given up in the course of preceding years the reins of his free-will to the despotism and disturbing influence of passion. Sensibility has special manifestations. Instinct has been superseded by habit; the affections are limited; the powerful lever of love is nearly annihilated, and if we do not meet with temperance, moderation, and wisdom, we find in their place egotism, avarice, envy, and misanthropy.

In a physiognomic sense, we notice very remarkable changes in the countenance; wrinkles come to furrow it in all directions, and the furrows partake of the impulse which has presided over the movable parts. We may notice these numer-

ous pathological changes. The falling in of the jaws gives a new aspect to the face, which nevertheless loses naught of that which existed previously.

The deterioration of organs, material slaves of the psychical element, becomes an insurmountable obstacle to the manifestation of that power. The obliteration of the senses takes off and destroys the impressions produced, and the outward world no longer determines the provocative excitation of the activity of intellect. On the other hand, the natural messengers of the orders given by the latter become incapable of carrying out the functions which pertain to them; hence, this new condition appears more or less early. It may even happen that man is reduced to the lowest condition, and degraded below the brutes. The facile expression comes into relation with this intellectual decadence, and the countenance of the man thus debased exhibits merely an assemblage of features inert, faded, and without other signification than obliteration. This last termination, let us hasten to declare, for the honor of humanity, is not the rule; most frequently this decay is limited, and, in the midst of the ruins of past glory, both intellectual expressions and ineffaceable affections may yet be discovered.

Such is a rapidly executed sketch of the relations between physiognomy and the psychical development. The progress of these phenomena does not always follow the laws of progression we have just pointed out, but is often stopped at one period or other. Hence, the great difference observable in the intellect of various individuals. Whatever it be, the facial expression is always in accordance with the intellectual element.

The study of physiognomy enables us to distinguish both general and individual types. Among the former we recognize, in the expression of each passion, &c., those that are confined to certain races, nations, or families. The latter apply properly to each individual man. It has been said that no two men resemble each other, and hence some have felt justified in asserting the utter fallacy of physiognomy. Every physiognomy forms an harmonious whole resulting

from very diverse influences. We can distinguish, by observation, beyond this complex assemblage, the coördination of general types, and in accordance with the relations and development of physiognomical character which belong to them, establish the predominance of one type over the rest. By this means reason will enable us to discover the individual as he really exists.

It is not so easy as people imagine to confound a simulated with a real expression; and civilization, which imposes on a man who would live in society a nearly constant dissimulation of his mode of viewing and feeling, is powerless in hiding the real state of the mind, and lets the penetrating eye perceive its pantomimic artificiality. Every sentiment has a special mask that cannot be perfectly imitated. For this reason a searching examination will always enable us to perceive a characteristic unsteadiness in the movements or acts that denote the sentiment, an exaggeration of the expression, or the absence of one or many of the essential features of its reproduction. The effrontery of the hypocrite arises from his belief that his chicanery cannot be detected, and, in fact, he succeeds in his aim with one who has only very superficial notions of physiognomy.

After these observations I hasten to the physiognomy of the alienated, and to reply to the question which doubtless has been often put to me from the very commencement of my work: Has the madman a peculiar physiognomic type, and can it generally be recognized? I answer: Yes.

Lavater, whom I cannot avoid invoking on such a subject, proposes the following experiment: Three different portraits are to be taken. The face in each is to be divided into three horizontal portions: the first to contain the forehead, the second the nose, the third and lowest portion from the nose to the chin. The next operation is to adjust the nasal portion of the second to the frontal part of the first portrait, as well as the inferior section of the third. By this arrangement we infallibly obtain the physiognomy of an insane person. Hence he concluded that there was a manifest defect of harmony in the countenance of the alienated. This proposition

is perfectly true, and the proof thus furnished by the illustrious physiognomist is, in our mind, the foundation of that which I shall endeavor to explain in this work. But we cannot admit the consequences that he thought might be drawn from his theory of beauty. It is not a theory we invoke in our favor, but facts which serve and will serve to establish what we advance. Thus the development of the frontal region of the nose or chin cannot be adopted, we believe, to indicate insanity as Lavater proposes. We seek another criterion, and believe we are able to find it in the *tout ensemble* of the physiognomy, in the more or less evident discord in the movements of the face. However, we may say that we have met with this disproportion of countenance very frequently among individuals with some peculiarity of character or actions; and that this disproportion is met with among those who in the world are designated eccentrics or originals. But we cannot affirm that it is here an indication of insanity.

Among the alienated the face is often well-proportioned, and betwixt eccentricity and madness there is a great gap.

If we recall to mind what has just been said respecting the type belonging to each individual, and the special physiognomy formed in accordance with the development of his intellect and moral habits, it will be easy to understand what is here advanced. The relations of a patient point out clearly to the physician that the invalid has something unusual in his countenance, something they cannot precisely define, but which appears to them extraordinary. It is on this account that Dr. Damerow, in an article on mimicry and physiognomy, published in the *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, 1860, advises a consultation with the family on the return of the physiognomy to its ordinary condition. This is good counsel, and should be adopted. The physician only sees the person confided to his care when the disease has greatly modified, and often, for some considerable time, the normal type. Besides, the shades vary so much, that it becomes in certain cases extremely difficult to recall the physiognomy of healthy individuals, notwithstanding the knowledge of character which serves to assist in their elucidation. As proof of



the general physiognomy of the alienated, I may mention, *en passant*, the sentiments of ordinary people who visit our asylums, and who discover something incongruous in the patients' countenances. Women especially, by reason of their greater sensibility, point out to us very remarkable shadowings.

I will now endeavor to describe in what this want of harmony depends, by reference to the parts of the face that appear to me most significant.

The late Dr. Geoffroy, who has unfortunately published none of his observations on insanity, has oftentimes called my attention to the importance of an examination of the countenance of the alienated. The eye, in truth, is the most expressive organ of the face, as well as its most active feature. It can confront that which is agreeable, fly that which is displeasing, move itself in a variety of ways, exclude itself, by the closure of the lids, from visible nature. Frankness and dissimulation can be thus equally recognized. The criminal, notwithstanding all his audacity, rarely looks you in the face. His look is furtive, unsteady, sullen, and has an air of indecision that betrays him continually. The honest man has, on the contrary, an open countenance, which produces confidence and engenders good-will in those who see it. "Timidity casts down the eyes with a certain grace easy of recognition, goodness inclines them towards the earth, pride carries them towards heaven; they are set on fire and made menacing by anger; hope gently directs their gaze upwards; love makes them more brilliant, shades them a little, and throws them forwards." (*Belouino des Passions*, p. 83.) Among the Chinese, the judges place much reliance on the looks of the accused.

From these few words it may be perceived what importance the organ of vision has in the countenance, and what superiority of activity it possesses over the other organs of the senses. It also forms the centre of an arrangement of great importance. A certain number of parts surround and converge towards it. According to Charles Lebrun, chief painter to Louis XIV., the eyebrow is the portion of the face

where the passions may be best recognized—it indicates the nature of the agitation observable in the eyes.

The mouth is another centre of action of the mobile parts. Without according to that organ so much importance as is assigned by Dr. Dorigny (*De la bouche humaine*), I am of the same opinion as Descuret and the principal physiognomists, that, after the eyes, the mouth is the most expressive of all parts of the face. We there find modifications of great value, corresponding to the passions of joy and grief, a state of mobility and of repose, a form which varies with certain situations, impressions, &c. The emotions of the soul that it is destined to portray are of no less elevated rank. Its office relates especially to the passions and appetites. It completes the signs conveyed to us by the eye and ocular apparatus. In the blind it acquires much more perfect expression.

The distinction between these two centres of action is very evident in what may be called the “forced” conditions of the mind. Falsehood and dissimulation may be distinctly recognized by the want of harmony of action between the ocular and buccal system, by the extraordinary mobility of the lips and their muscles. All the defects of physiognomic congruity relate more or less to these two centres. It is very easy to convince oneself of the importance to be attached to the coördination of expression furnished by the ocular and buccal centres of action. Consult those actors who have made a special study of facial mimicry. It is like taking a series of observations of oneself in a mirror, or on a sheet of ice, to carefully study our great dramatists on the stage. This want of harmony is explained by the impotence of a man who wishes to fix his attention upon several objects at once, and to direct in an harmonious manner all the motions essential to the expression of a sentiment which he really does not feel.

The investigation I have made on this subject among the alienated permits me thus to class under two fundamental heads the study of the modifications of the countenance.

According to my own observation, the type of the lunatic in general depends upon the want of harmony between the expression of the centres of ocular and buccal action. But this want of harmony resembles that observed in dissimulation, although it is more complex. Besides, the duration of its manifestations is greater, and the circumstances are very different.

In the course of his malady the lunatic has many moments wherein the facial expression assumes the normal state, or nearly so. The reproduction of the normal and morbid conditions differs in accordance with the period of the malady, and other very numerous causes. There is no case of mental alienation wherein the want of symmetry I have pointed out cannot be demonstrated.

Besides the symptoms of defective harmony, there are others which are due to the influence of the organism, and which serve to distinguish the special types of insanity, as well as the period to which they belong.

### III.

It has previously been shown that the physiognomy of the lunatic has a special character. In this section I propose to study the symptoms that can be presented by the face in each of its principal constituent parts.

I am inclined to allow that deformities of the head indicate an intellectual defect, or at least irregularity. The works of MM. Foville, Lunier, Gosse, Morel, Baillarger, &c., and those of a great number of anthropologists, as well as the researches which I have myself made on this subject, afford sufficient proof of what I advance.

1st. These deformities may be congenital, the sad effects of heritage, and allied to primitive intellectual debilities, as idiocy, imbecility, and cretinism. We have met with diversities from regular microcephalus to macrocephalus and hydrocephalus, passing by all the groups which Dr. Gosse has so attentively studied.

2nd. Artificial deformities, resulting from injuries or erroneous practices which stop the free development of the intel-

lect in a direct or indirect manner, and producing convulsive affections which almost necessarily induce mental trouble.

3rd. Lastly, subjective acquired deformities, proceeding from a perversion of the natural dynamic law under the influence of pathological causes, from want of symmetry in the activity of the individual. This absence of symmetry, which is of common occurrence, is always accompanied by an irregularity of the mental faculties, a peculiarity of character, an originality, without necessarily producing mental alienation. In some exceptional individuals, a greater development of one cerebral hemisphere has been found united with very large psychical capacity. (Bichat, Napoleon I.)

But although deformity of the cranium generally indicates an anomaly of intellectual actions, it does not follow that insanity is always associated with an ill-shapen skull. To maintain this would be a grave error. Many lunatics have the cranium well-formed and perfectly symmetrical.

Important elements are furnished to symptomatologists by the hairy system. Although asserted by Esquirol, the color of the hair and beard has not appeared to us allied to one kind of insanity more than another. The popular saying that the head of the idiot never becomes grey, appears to us undeserving of confidence. But it is the condition of these products of secretion that should be considered. The softness or roughness of the hair and beard, their brittleness, dryness or humidity, their smoothness or erection, their entanglement, agglutination and length, their more or less complete change of color, their neat or dirty condition, always accompanying special periods of the malady, should not escape the eye of the observer. The scarcity or abundance, the mode of distribution, the premature appearance,\* more or less loss of these protecting organs, have a not less intimate relation with phrenopathic phenomena, and are very often allied with a primitive alteration, (idiocy, &c.)

\* My worthy colleague and friend, Dr. Bulard, has noticed the appearance in women, at the epoch of commencing lunacy, of a larger or smaller number of bristles in the face, which have completely disappeared with the malady.

The condition and color of the skin have great value in the eyes of the alienist physician. I think it right expressly to insist on the symptoms furnished by this organ. I have noticed some very curious morbid phenomena. Professor Trousseau has specified in his clinical lectures some very important peculiarities in the functions of the skin manifesting themselves during head affections. After the example of this learned man, I must insist on this point. Color furnishes signs well worthy attention. The skin of the face, and it is of this part alone I speak, may be dry and arid, the seat of herpetic scurvy and scaly eruptions, or may be moist with perspiration, or a liquid secretion of a more or less oily nature and of variable odor. Its color is susceptible of numerous general or partial modifications. It may be pale. This pallor has divers shades, from pure white to the slightly yellow tinge, (compared to that of straw or wax,) or earthy, brown, and bronzed. It may be of every shade of red, from rosy to vermilion, violet and purple. But season, and exposure to the sun's rays, should always be taken into consideration.

The skin may have a greater or less tonicity, and the subcutaneous, subcellular tissue be more or less elastic. It also is marked by lines and furrows, which are of importance as indicating the amount of activity of the subjacent muscles. At first, during infancy and adolescence, few in number, their formation becomes fecund in proportion as age advances, which must be attributed to the thinning of the face or the loss of the mobile parts by age, sickness, passion, and deep emotion of the soul. I think it unnecessary to describe these furrows, which may assume different forms—horizontal, vertical, oblique, sinuous, and more or less close or parallel.

The organ of sight offers for consideration its form, movements, and expression. The eyes may be more or less prominent or depressed in the orbit; the aperture between the lids smaller or greater; the sclerotic, very apparent around the pupil, exhibits a variable bluish, yellowish, or red tinge; the dilatation of the vessels very evident. Little livid or black veins may be perceived on it. The conjunctival surface may



be dry, humid, or moistened with tears; the pupils may be deformed by being equally or unequally dilated or contracted. Strabismus may be observed, a distortion of the eyes by which they look crosswise, either above, below, or to the side, twisting even during sleep. In the normal state, the ocular globe is susceptible, under the influence of the will, of numberless motions in every sense, and these motions may have a longer or shorter duration; but in the morbid state, and without their owner's control, a sort of trembling, oscillation, or vacillation of the globe may be manifested, a kind of continual or permanent convulsion, in consequence of which, most frequently, little lateral, sometimes, though rarely, up and down, movements are given to the globe of the eye.

The expression of the eye calls for special attention. The eyes are sometimes lively and brilliant, sometimes sad and glazed. Often they have a soft, dreaming look, expressive of vacuity, uncertainty, or nonchalant calmness; at other times they become animated from the slightest cause, have a lightning glance, are haggard, insolent, full of audacity, fixed and inquisitive. Each of these expressions has a different intensity and duration, and responds to very different situations.

In accordance with the protrusion or sinking of the globe of the eye, the eyelids take shape—they are swollen or œdematous; have at time a very pallid color, at others become red or blue; and exhibit wrinkles of diverse shape and in variable number. They may likewise be agitated by convulsion, or show a very significant immobility. Each lid may differ in the length and abundance of its lashes: the ciliary margin may be the seat of inflammation due to nervous excitation.

Occasionally the eyebrows are of fantastic shape. Sometimes little noticeable, sometimes strongly marked, they stand up on the forehead, or fall back on the eyes, curling after the style of moustaches.

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dilatation of the nostrils, their mobility or fixedness, the tension or the retraction of their walls. Dr. Hofling\* attaches much more importance to the signs furnished by the nose than to those given by the eye.

The mouth presents for examination the state of the lips, with their relative situation during repose, their volume, color, dryness, or humidity. The motion of the mouth has a very important signification, and leads to a notable modification of the commissure of the lips. Permanent contractions, alternations of tension or relaxation, partial or general tremor, the diverse forms of spasm, deserve much attention. These manifestations have a very decided meaning.

What we have just said relative to the motion of the mouth and lips is applicable to all the locomotive system of the face. Tension or relaxation, continual or alternate movements, immobility, may appear in various grades in each of the facial muscles.

To facial symptomatology must be added also an examination of the parotid and auricular regions. We should carefully note the pallor, redness, and swelling of the cheeks; the color, swelling, mobility, or immobility of the ears, as well as the appearance of sanguineous tumors of the auricle. Dr. Morel attaches much importance to the way in which the ears are fixed, and makes this one of the characteristic signs of his types of degeneracy.

It is of some importance to let this physiognomical survey embrace the carriage of the head, which is often noticed to be variable, according as the individual has a more or less favorable opinion of his personality, and from numerous other causes.

Such are the different symptoms that the physiognomy of the lunatic presents to us. It is unnecessary to follow their manifestations in the numerous forms of mental alienation. We must remember that Guislain has forcibly insisted on the examination of the development and subsidence of the symp-

\* "Memoir on the Semiotic Indications furnished by the External Nose."  
(*Journal de Cooper*, 1834.)

toms of mental disease. In a celebrated clinique he has classified the phenomena of morbid incubation, the phenomena of invasion, the phenomena of morbid progress, and stationary phenomena; phenomena of morbid decrease, phenomena of convalescence; and lastly, the phenomena announcing the transformation of the malady.

These several categories of morbid phenomena are noticed in each of the mental affections, and call for incessant attention on the part of the observer. It may be conceived that the symptoms we have above enumerated will vary in accordance with the period at which the patient comes under observation. Without ceasing to belong in a marked manner to a certain period, they will yet vary according to the dominant medical constitution—according to the medium from whence the affection arose, and a number of other causes which it is not necessary to mention.

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## SUMMARY.

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THE JOURNAL OF MENTAL SCIENCE AND THE LATE DR. BELL.—The last number of the *Journal of Mental Science* contains a notice of Dr. Ray's discourse on the life and character of Dr. Bell, in which we grieve to find expressions more befitting the columns of the *London Times* or *Post*, than the pages of a journal devoted to the interests of humanity and science, and "published by authority of the medical officers of the hospitals for the insane in Great Britain." Dr. Bell, the writer says, "was moved by the demon of war to go forth and aid President Lincoln's insane and hopeless attempt to force on the Southern Confederacy the mob rule of the North by aid of foreign hirelings and ex-attorney generals." Now, we quarrel with no man on account of his opinions. Any subject of Queen Victoria has an unquestionable right to believe that we of the North are endeavoring, by means of a bloody war, to prevent a neighboring community from establishing an independence to which it is clearly entitled by every principle of government recognized among us, while we regard ourselves as contending in a struggle for national



existence—but the rules of common courtesy forbid him to state his belief in offensive terms. He has a right to believe, if he please, that our friend, the late Dr. Bell, whose whole life was devoted to the cause of humanity, manifested at last the feelings of a demon, though *we* see only that lofty indignation which must of necessity arise in the soul of every true patriot, in view of the incalculable misery which reckless and unprincipled men, to gratify a thirst for dominion, have brought upon the country; but let him tread lightly on the ashes of one whose character was suggestive of whatever is honorable and noble in human nature.

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DR. SANKEY ON NON-RESTRAINT.—When, nearly thirty years ago, the system, so-called, of non-restraint was announced by certain medical superintendents of British asylums, its doctrines and pretensions found as little acceptance among the alienists of the Continent as by the profession in this country. With a fairness almost amounting to generosity, the French had consented to a division of the honors of the great reform in the management of the insane, between their own Pinel and the English Tuke. Yet now, they were called upon to admit that his labors, and, indeed, all that had previously been done in behalf of the insane, were merely introductory to the new and perfect method. The star of his fame, however bright in the dawn of a new era, must consent to lose itself in the sunlight of non-restraint. Of course, such claims as these were not easily admitted, and for many years the system received little notice outside the island of Great Britain. But there, the circumstances were such that the practice, and especially the discussion of the restraint question, became a powerful means by which to urge on the slow and halting progress of asylum reform. So fixed in the popular memory were histories of the abuse of restraints in former times, that when the theory of non-restraint was once put forth, it soon became fatal to the credit of any medical man to question the least of its claims. And as completely to discard mechanical restraints in the care of the insane, made necessary a larger number of attendants, less crowded wards, and increased means of diversion and employment, their condition has been greatly improved. This has naturally tended to commend the non-restraint theory, and of late it has received greater attention and favor from French alienists, several of whom, after having carefully examined the metropolitan British asylums, have declared themselves much pleased with the practice of non-restraint. Thus a new

interest has been excited in the subject, which has called forth, among other papers, one contributed to the *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*, for October of last year, by Dr. Sankey, of the Hanwell Asylum, England.

"Placed as I am," says Dr. S., "as one of the physicians to the hospital for the insane at Hanwell, the institution in which this system was for the first time established upon a large scale by Dr. Conolly, and having even yet many of the patients upon whom the system was first practiced, I am accustomed frequently to receive visits from the physicians of different countries. In these interviews, I have found that the greatest misconceptions exist in regard to the system itself, and it is this which has induced me to write the following pages."

The first of these errors is, that frequent recourse is had in English asylums to seclusion as a substitute for mechanical restraints. In disproof of this, is given the evidence of Dr. Morel, who declares that among five or six thousand insane whom he saw in these asylums, not more than three were in temporary seclusion. On this point, Dr. S. admits that the idea of non-restraint has been greatly developed since it was first made the basis of a system. Seclusion in a room is much less practiced as a substitute for restraint to the limbs than formerly. In its stead, the patient is left alone for a time in a yard; and Dr. S. naively says, that "the larger these yards or airing-courts are, the less need is there of seclusion." The padded-chamber, also, in which at first nearly all the violent patients were treated, is now but little used.

Another error of fact in regard to the non-restraint practice is, that physical restraint at the hands of attendants is a frequent substitute for mechanical means. But Dr. S. asserts, that, among eight hundred patients under his charge, this has happened in but two or three instances in the last seven years.

The most general, and the most signal misconception of all, is, however, according to Dr. S., that practically non-restraint is only a modification of restraint. It is supposed, in fact, that the use of restraint reduced to the most moderate degree of frequency, and to its least offensive forms, is really neither more nor less than the non-restraint of the English physicians. So far from this being true, says the writer, the two systems are fundamentally and totally different. And he proceeds gravely to assure us, that this difference is one of principle; that the principle of the new method is based upon the influ-

ence which one mind may exert over another; and that it consists in the moral impression produced upon the insane patient by the public declaration of the absolute disuse of mechanical restraint. The basis is certainly a very broad one for the use of a rather limited specialty, and we submit that it is not competent for a few of its members in England to appropriate to themselves its whole extent. But this is, perhaps, somewhat less absurd as a logical starting point than that of the abolition of restraints for the limbs, and in its stead immuring the whole body in a padded-room. It is now stated that the disuse of the camisole, &c., is a mere matter of detail, and quite secondary to the very proper generality which does duty as a grand first-principle. This is nearer as it should be. Do we not all know, and cannot the Society of Friends affirm, that the Golden Rule, for instance, is a more manageable text than that which bids us not to resist evil? Some measure of restraint is found to be necessary among the insane as well as the sane, and it is best not to set up a working system on the "counsels of perfection," which, no doubt, are perfectly adapted to the millennial state. But why a "system" at all? Is there not too close a parallel between the method of Dr. Conolly and that of Hahnemann? Both set forth as primary principles something indefinite or irrelevant. Both decry the value of all that experience and genius have wrought out before them. Each classes all that refuse assent to its wholesale and gratuitous assumptions into an opposing system, which it paints, of course, in colors of its own choosing. One imagines a system which it calls *Allopathy*, and describes it from the doctrines of the mediæval physicians. The other combines all the horrors which belonged to the condition of the insane before Pinel, and terms the product "the restraint system." Both are indirectly the means of more or less temporary good; but both, by diverting from the study of disease in the spirit of true science, and by debauching the popular mind, are most powerful hindrances to the progress of knowledge.

It is not pretended by Dr. S. that any new means of treatment have been discovered by the advocates of non-restraint; but those already known to physicians of no exclusive method are, with the most refreshing assurance, claimed and described as the products of the new system. It is only just to say, however, that the manner in which these means are discussed shows the writer to be not behind the foremost of his profession in the zeal and knowledge necessary to the duties of his responsible position. The agencies to be brought to bear in

the cure of insanity he divides into the positive and the negative. The former consists in the removal of the patient from all the excitements of friends, business, and society, and the placing him under such conditions as to avoid all similar influences. The second, or positive means, are treated under the heads of amusement, occupation, and association. The extent to which all of these have been cultivated at Hanwell, and in other British institutions, entitles them to great credit, although their good work may have been connected with an absurd and ungenerous theory. But as in other countries equally good results have been obtained without any such aid, we are sure that still further progress is possible in the direct and dignified paths so suited to the nobility of true science.

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INAUGURATION OF A STATUE OF ESQUIROL.—We learn from the *Annales Medico-Psychologiques* that on the 22d of November, 1862, a bronze statue of Esquirol was inaugurated, with due ceremonies, at the *Maison Imperiale* of Charenton. About two hundred medical men were present, representing most of the principal asylums, the Academy of Medicine, the Medico-Psychological Society, and the medical press. There were also members of the family of Esquirol and civil functionaries in attendance.

M. Parchappe presided, and in an eloquent speech presented the Institution of Charenton as a model one, vigorously sustaining the method of treatment by special asylums in opposition to the plan of agricultural colonies, now so much advocated. M. Calmeil, in a learned address, traced the history of insanity from the earliest to the present time. The eulogy upon Esquirol was pronounced by M. Baillarger, who showed how much the modern science of mental medicine owes to the genius of his master, especially in his having first described that most important malady, general paralysis.

The statue represents Esquirol as seated. In his right hand he holds the ancient style, and is in the act of writing upon tablets. At his feet, and partially sheltered by his mantle, is the figure of a youth, an insane patient who seeks his aid. The whole is the work of M. Toussaint, and is most satisfactory, both in its design and its execution.

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A SUBSTITUTE FOR BRANDY IN CASES OF EXHAUSTION.—When lean beef, chopped up, is inclosed in a jar, and subjected for an hour or more to heat, it separates into three portions—fat, fibre, and liquid essence. The last is strained off, and the

fat separated by means of blotting paper. It is a clear, amber liquid, of an intensely aromatic smell and taste, very stimulating to the brain. Different samples of meat yield various quantities of it, and it contains a variable proportion of gelatinous matter; but when prepared from old, lean meat, it is darker in color, and contains scarcely any gelatinous matter. When evaporated to dryness, it yields about one-sixteenth of solid residue, but this, too, is subject to great variety. The extract soon effloresces with the saline matter contained in the meat.

This is not intended as a substitute for common beef tea, nor for common broths or soups, the gelatinous elements of which are of the highest value, but it is recommended as an auxiliary to and partial substitute for brandy in all cases of great exhaustion or weakness, attended with cerebral depression or despondency. It is free from anything that loads the stomach, and appears to exert a rapid and remarkable stimulating power over the brain. It is, therefore, an antidote to the conditions which are apt to lead, through mental depression, to the pernicious habit of spirit-drinking. In the sequelæ of severe and exhausting labor, it is invaluable.—*Dr. Druitt—Trans. of the Obstetrical Society of London, Vol. III.*

**EASTERN LUNATIC ASYLUM, VIRGINIA.**—By direction of the Secretary of War, Dr. C. H. Nichols, the accomplished Superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane, Washington, visited the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, Williamsburgh, Va. This is the oldest asylum for the exclusive treatment of the insane in the United States. It has stood on debatable ground, but since the occupation of that village by the Union Army in 1862, has been in charge of the United States Government. The present medical officer is Dr. James L. Watson, Assistant Surgeon 139th Regiment N. Y. V. It contained at the time of its inspection 216 patients; white 191, colored 25. The physician and attendants seemed intelligent and humane, and the institution seemed to be under proper discipline. The Asylum, like most of the public buildings of Eastern Virginia, has neither water-closet nor urinal, nor proper sewerage or water supply. Dr. Nichols did not advise any change in the management of the institution under existing circumstances.—*American Medical Times.*

Ticknor & Fields, of Boston, announce for publication, October 17th, **MENTAL HYGIENE**, by Dr. Ray, of the Butler Hospital, Providence, R. I.



**MURDERS BY THE INSANE.**—Two criminals, accused of murder, have been, during the past week, acquitted at the Central Criminal Court on the ground of insanity. One, an elderly man, named Thomas Liddbetter, killed his wife and his imbecile son by cutting their throats. When taken, Liddbetter offered no resistance. On being formally charged, he said he "knew all about it," but that he did not know what he was doing at the time. Evidence was given that he had latterly become taciturn, eccentric, and irritable. Mr. Evan B. Jones, Surgeon, of Hanover Street, Hanover Square, said that he had known the accused for some years, that he had attended his wife when she gave birth to the imbecile child. The prisoner's conduct was most considerate and affectionate at that period; but he was always a strange, odd man, peculiar in his manner, taciturn and incommunicative. Originally he appeared to have been feeble-minded, and, after injuries to the head, received in 1856 and 1859, his perceptive faculties became less acute, and his eccentricities more strange. Mr. Gibson, Surgeon to Newgate, on the contrary, deposed that the prisoner had been under his care for a week, and in his opinion was now in a sound state of mind.

Lord Chief Baron Pollock very naturally expressed his surprise that no medical man had been called on the part of the prosecution, to speak to the prisoner's state of mind at the time of the alleged murder, and on Mr. Metcalfe, the prosecuting barrister, proceeding to cross-examine Mr. Gibson as to the effects of intoxication on an enfeebled intellect, his Lordship interrupted the examination by saying, that "An inquiry involving the life or death of the prisoner was not to be made the sport of a cross-examination as if it were an everyday matter."

We are heartily glad that our judges are becoming more alive to the extreme danger of eliciting medical opinions on such difficult matters as criminal insanity by the process of cross-examination, a method which not only in the large majority of cases fails to extract the real opinion of the scientific witness, but in no small proportion leads him on to expressions or statements which to bystanders bear an entirely different meaning from that he intends. This result may be a triumph of forensic skill, but it is fatal to justice no less than to scientific truth.

The other case was one in which the insanity seems to have been dependent on pregnancy. The prisoner was a married woman, twenty-one years of age, and four months advanced in pregnancy. She had been twice *enciente* before, and during

those periods had suffered from great despondency, and had always exhibited a peculiar horror of knives and razors. She murdered her child by cutting its throat, and then attempted her own life, first by wounding her throat, and then by throwing herself out of window. She also took laudanum, which was detected in some fluid she vomited. This at least appears to have been an instance where the catastrophe might have been foreseen and prevented. Yet, probably, any physician who in her previous pregnancies had recommended restraint would have had some difficulty in proving to a jury its necessity, if proceedings had been taken against him for wrongly signing the certificate of lunacy.—*Medical Times and Gazette*.

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SUICIDE IN BAVARIA.—M. Majee in his work on this subject states, among other motives for suicide, that the price of food has great influence upon it, especially during the last few years since food has so greatly increased in price.

Suicides increase in proportion to the increase of the population, but in times of great political agitation the number of suicides diminishes, increasing again when quiet and order are reëstablished, doubtless the result of hopes deceived.

Suicide, he remarks, is also more frequent in towns than in the country, but that may be accounted for by the greater amount of population in the former.

Sex exercises an influence on this malady, as men are attacked in greater numbers than women, the proportion being four to one; now as this difference relative to sex is not found in mental affections, although in the number of crimes, suicide can be but rarely attributed to a derangement of the intellectual faculties.

Violent deaths by suicide, by assassination, or by accident, taken as a whole, are three times more frequent among men than among women, and suicides by women are of more constant occurrence in towns than in the country. The greatest number of people commit suicide when arrived at manhood. In Bavaria the maximum occur between the ages of forty and fifty; under forty years of age and over sixty, there are more women in proportion; whilst between forty and sixty, there are more men who commit this crime.

In a given number of people, suicide is found to be three times more general among the Protestants than the Catholics, and about a third more frequent than among the Jews. In mixed provinces, the frequency is in an inverse ratio to the number

of the Catholic inhabitants. By way of compensation, crimes are more universal among these latter.

In agricultural populations this crime is nearly four times as rare as it is in industrial populations, and in years of dearth the proportion seems to increase in the towns more than in the country. Suicide, at least in Bavaria, is rather more frequent among married people; crime, on the contrary, is always more constantly committed by the unmarried. About half of the number who commit suicide enjoy good health; intellectual derangement has been satisfactorily found to exist in about a fifth, and bodily affections in about a fourth.

The greater number of patients were little favored by family or fortune; but in about two-fifths their position and circumstances left nothing to be desired. Suicides from mental causes are more common among Catholics than Protestants.

Death by hanging is the method selected by half those who commit suicide in Bavaria and Germany; then, drowning by about a fourth. Ladies generally choose this latter method.

The greatest number of suicidal deaths occur in June, July and August; the smaller number in the cold months of November, December and January.

We see again in these facts how much the crime of suicide is influenced by national customs and modes of life. The Bavarians follow the English in that hanging is with them the most popular form of self-destruction.—*Social Science Review*.

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ASSOCIATION OF MEDICAL OFFICERS OF ASYLUMS FOR THE INSANE, GREAT BRITAIN.—The annual meeting of this Association was held on Thursday, July 9, by permission of the President and Fellows, at the Royal College of Physicians. Dr. Kirkman, the retiring President, resigned the chair to Dr. Skae, of Edinburgh, who delivered an able address. There was a numerous attendance of members, among whom were Dr. Conolly, Dr. Thurnam, Dr. Monro, Dr. W. Kirkman, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. Wood, Dr. Duncan, Dr. Fox, Dr. Wollaston, Dr. Willett, Dr. Crichton Browne, Dr. Hertz, of Vienna, etc. The resignation of Mr. Ley, for many years Treasurer of the Association, President 1848, was received with much regret. The following officers of the Association were elected:—President-elect, Dr. Monro; Treasurer, Dr. Paul; Editors of the *Journal*, Dr. Lockhart Robertson and Dr. Maudsley; Secretaries for Scotland and Ireland Dr. Rorie and Dr. Stewart; General Secretary, Dr. Tuke.

Twenty-two new members were proposed, and the following distinguished psychologists elected honorary members:—William Lawrence, F. R. S., Surgeon to the Bethlehem Hospital; Dr. Delasiauve, Editor of the *Journal de Médecine Mentale*, Physician to the Bicêtre, President of the Société Médico-Psychologique of Paris; Dr. Girard de Cailleux, Inspector-General of Asylums in the Prefecture of the Department of the Seine; Dr. Moreau de Tours, Chief Physician of the Salpêtrière; Dr. Damerow, Physician of the Halle Asylum, Prussia; Chief Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*. A carefully written paper was then read by Dr. Eastwood, on Private Asylums, Papers by Dr. Robertson and Dr. Maudsley were on the list, but the time of the Association was occupied in a long and animated discussion upon the questions involved in the proposed removal of Bethlehem Hospital. Upon the motion of Dr. Lockhart Robertson, seconded by Dr. Conolly, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That the members of the Association have regarded with especial interest the question of the removal of Bethlehem Hospital to a site more adapted to the present state of psychological and sanitary science, and affording enlarged means of relief to the insane of the middle and educated classes in impoverished circumstances, and that they desire to express their concurrence in the representations already made to the governors of that important institution by the Commissioners of Lunacy." The annual dinner of the Association was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Dr. Skae, President, in the chair. Among the guests were Dr. Bucknill and Dr. Hood, honorary members; Dr. Webster, Dr. Russell Reynolds, and Mr. Skae.—*Medical Times and Gazette*.

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DR. LAYCOCK'S CLASS OF MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND MENTAL DISEASES, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.—Questions at the examinations held July, 1863, for certificates of proficiency, propounded conjointly by the Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland and Dr. Laycock:—1. Give a synopsis and description of the different forms of mania. 2. State the physiognomical aspect, symptoms, and treatment of acute melancholia. 3. Discriminate between illusions, hallucinations, and delusions, and illustrate by examples. 4. What are the most common cerebral lesions found after death from general paralysis? 5. When may insanity be regarded as incurable? 6. Under what conditions would you feed the insane artificially? Describe the processes followed, and state the reasons for preferring any particular process. 7. What results may be

expected to follow from the efforts now being made for the education of idiots and imbeciles? 8. State how a Practitioner should proceed in diagnosing the mental condition of a person presumed to be insane, and what precautions are needed in forming and expressing an opinion? 9. A clinical report on a case examined by the candidate at an asylum.—*Medical Times and Gazette.*

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LUNATICS IN WORKHOUSES.—The Commissioners in Lunacy state in their last Report that they have never ceased to be of opinion that workhouses are altogether unsuitable for the treatment of the insane, and that many curable cases are thus kept in the gloomy unfurnished wards, with low diet and narrow airing courts, until their disease becomes chronic and their cure hopeless. Yet a return just issued stated that in the single year 1861 no less than 5072 lunatics were received into workhouses in England and Wales. In the majority of instances there is no lunatic ward in the workhouse, and the insane, if not dangerous, are mixed with the sane.—*Medical Times and Gazette.*

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DE LUNATICO INQUIRENDUM.—The medical profession of the present age, can safely boast of having made great strides towards the advancement of science in general; for the science of medicine, embracing the entire animate and inanimate nature, its discoveries radiate through everything. The microscope has enabled us to penetrate the mysteries of the minutiae; the ophthalmoscope, (a branch of the microscope,) to bring to our view the camera obscura of vision; the laryngoscope, to alleviate diseases of the respiratory organs. Chemistry, a legitimate branch of the medical profession, has extended its fields. Agriculture, the fine arts, mechanism, commerce and every branch of human industry is indebted to our profession for a clearer understanding of its pursuits, simplifying its mode of operation, and economy of labor and means. Chemistry has increased the means for the cure of diseases, but a few years hence considered beyond our reach. It makes the poisoner tremble, as he mixes the deadly draught, when he remembers that, though his victim sleeps the silent sleep of death even for years, the physician, the watchful guardian of life, is enabled to bring to light the infamy of the evil doer. It is impossible for me to enumerate, even to a slight degree, the many advantages accruing from the pursuits and researches of the medical profession, the gratitude and esteem the world owes to our science; suffice it to say, that



the day is not far distant when our profession, the noblest of mankind, will be acknowledged as such. But much, very much depends whether our aims ascend high to the demands of a science, or descend to the mere pursuits and duties of a business.

In acknowledging the great merits of our advancement, in a material point of view, I am constrained to admit, that in a philosophical point of view, much must and can be done; for who has not blushed with shame and sorrow, that in courts, in cases *de lunatico inquirendo*, the ablest members, the stars of our profession, have been held up to ridicule, so that juries have been confused by conflicting and contradictory testimony, that judges have been compelled to admit, both in this country and in England, that the testimony of physicians, in cases *de lunatico inquirendo*, cannot be relied upon.

We all feel a deep interest that the odium now resting upon us should, if possible, be removed. I do not feel myself adequate to the task, but allow me, gentlemen, to make a few suggestions which may give an impetus to further inquiry among those better qualified for the task; not only to remedy the existing evil, but to correct errors and incoherencies in this most essential branch of medical jurisprudence, and to elevate the standard of our position. Permit me to divide medical jurisprudence in two separate and distinct branches. 1. Material. 2. Philosophical. 1. The material branch embraces everything which may be demonstrated by the aid of our material sciences, poisoning, infanticide, traumatology, etc. 2. Philosophical branch, relating to mind in opposition to matter. As physiology describes the condition, of the human body in its normal condition, and upon that knowledge alone rests the pathology; so teaches psychology the healthy condition of the mind, and upon that knowledge rests the pathology of the mind—*insanity*. Much has been done, and much needs to be done in the preliminary education of the physician of this country. His preparatory training should be thorough; a classical education may not be, to our general view of utilitarianism, necessary to make a practical physician, but permit me to say, and to say it emphatically, that it philosophizes the mind and assists him through life to become a fine and penetrating diagnostician, both in maladies of the mind and body. Now, psychology forms one of the separate and distinct branches of the gymnasiums and lyceums, the preparatory schools for universities almost throughout Europe, and I therefore would enjoin upon the leading men in our profession and education generally, to embody this branch of philosophy

in the higher schools and colleges, and if possible, in our medical colleges, as a necessary appendix to medical jurisprudence. Under the present system of medical jurisprudence, in cases of insanity, the rule is, to call men, as mere experts, men who have charge of lunatics or lunatic asylums, to corroborate either the views of the prosecution or the defence. That men without compass, without an established guide, relying solely upon their individual opinion or experience, must at times waver, is not only owing to the fact that they have to wrestle with an abstract science, but they wrestle without any of those aids by which the study and knowledge of abstract sciences are generally alleviated. That this deficiency exists, none will be able to deny, and the question is, how can this be remedied? Far be it from me, to propose myself as the candidate for so laborious a task, and should I have succeeded in securing the attention of the profession to this work I shall be amply repaid for the slight labor which I have bestowed upon it. The men entrusted with this task by this honorable body, should,

1. Ascertain the present state of literature upon this subject, with a view to ascertain its deficiencies.

2. To establish undeniable and firm truths by which the physician may be enabled to ascertain the condition of the mind diseased, and which truths should be able to protect him from contradiction of mere experts, in courts of law.

3. To ascertain the condition of the laws appertaining to this branch of medical jurisprudence in other countries, especially France and Germany; for to judge from the records, there appears to be less discrepancy and confusion in those countries than in our own and England; and elicit therefrom the materials, not only for a text book and authority, but also to glean from the perusal of those laws, whether the law by which a person declared insane, is held in duration, which is, at the present time, extremely superficial and sometimes hasty, might not be remedied.

The Legislature of our State looks to us for any reform, in this matter, and if reform is necessary, it is our duty to give it the necessary attention.

4. New forms of insanity, moral insanity, claim to be recognized as distinct diseases of the mind; to decide whether the existence of such diseases should be acknowledged, and what effect such acknowledgment would have upon crime.

5. In cases of crimes perpetrated under mania a potu, how far adulteration of the beverage consumed influenced the mania.

6. What progress has been made in what is termed "organic theory" of mental diseases, and how far practicable the adoption of such theory might be.

7. The Governor, in his Message to the Legislative bodies, has recommended a Commissioner of Lunacy, to visit the institutions, for the confinement of this unfortunate class of our fellow creatures; and it may be the province of our body to ascertain, whether it may not be equally necessary to establish a *commissio de lunatico inquirendo*, which should become a permanent board, to decide questions of lunacy in all its different branches; such a body being in existence in France and Germany.

And now, gentlemen, let me again assure you, that my motive for bringing this matter before you, has been purely to arouse the attention of the talent of our profession to this momentous question, and should I have been successful in doing so, I have been amply rewarded for these few hastily and perhaps illogically written lines.—*Dr. Julius Auerbach—Trans. N. Y. State Medical Society, 1863.*

A CASE OF INSANITY.—In April of the year 1861, I was called to see a patient, in whose subsequent history I became deeply interested. The invasion and early symptoms of the disease exhibited no marked peculiarities, yet in its progress, in the social and legal entanglements which complicated it, in its development and termination, it contained lessons of instruction and warning, which, if heeded, may serve to rescue some of the unfortunate insane from a similar fate.

From the relatives I learned the following facts: His age was about forty-seven years; he was married and had several children. He was a farmer of good business habits, and had always sustained a character for piety, probity and honor. When about nineteen years of age he suffered an attack of insanity of nearly a year's duration, for which he was treated at the Brattleboro Asylum. From this attack he recovered, and entered upon active business. Some five or six years previous to 1861, he was considered insane by his intimate relatives, and legal proceedings were commenced for the purpose of having a committee appointed of his person and property, but he began to improve, and proceedings were suspended. He recovered. I was informed that he had shown an unusual degree of mental activity during the six weeks previous to my being called to see him. There was some slight cause for the attack, sufficient, perhaps, to kindle disease in a person so predisposed as this patient was to mental disorder.

He had been absent from home for a few days, and on his return he left the train at a station several miles from his own house, and started to go the remaining distance on foot. Some person observing his excited manner, procured a carriage hoping to get him to ride. This he refused to do; and although the night was dark and rainy, he left the road, passed across the fields, and reached home, wet, muddy, exhausted and delirious. The next day he was seen by his family physician. He found him in bed, with some febrile disturbance, pulse 100, skin warm, with nervous excitement and some delirium. It became necessary to employ men to take care of him in consequence of his improper conduct towards women.

It was but a few days subsequent to the commencement of the disease that I first saw him. He was still in bed; his manner was variable, passing quickly from a condition of calmness to one of great excitement, but not of incoherence. His pulse was increased in frequency, and the circulation was irregular. I observed the quick swelling of the veins of the head and face, the peculiar brightness of the eye, and the nervous tremor of the facial muscles. He said that he was excited and nervous; that his head felt full and uncomfortable. He had exalted ideas of his wealth, of his business capacity; and generally, the mental condition was one of exaltation, bordering on delirium. I advised rest in bed, quiet, and the usual remedies to remove the nervous excitement. Four days afterwards he was brought to Brigham Hall, for care and treatment, his friends finding that they could no longer control him. For the first few days he was excited and irritable, sleeping but little, with very exalted ideas of his personal importance. All these symptoms gradually gave place to healthier action, and at the expiration of two weeks he was calm and apparently rational. His wife came to see him, and he persuaded her to take him home, promising to return after two days. The two days expired and he did not return. The quiet of convalescence was soon followed by a return of excitement, and no further measures were immediately taken to care for or restrain him. Thus the case progressed till the month of July, when a writ was issued, and a jury was summoned to examine into his state of mind. He had been absent from home a great portion of the time, was estranged from his wife and his nearest kindred, and generally neglectful of his ordinary duties and habits, nay more, he had become licentious and intemperate. I was subpoenaed to attend the examination. The patient was present, and conducted the defence mainly himself. His mental condition was one

of increased disorder and excitement, but still free from incoherence. His flow of thought was rapid, his wit sharp, and his belief in his own powers unbounded. He interrupted the witnesses, would yield to no obedience of the Court, and yet, withal, shrewdly managed to keep the sympathies of the jury.

According to his theory, he was persecuted by his relatives, who had conspired to destroy his peace and get possession of his property, for their own private gain. I gave the court and jury my opinion of his condition, and the probable result unless the disease should be arrested, but it was evident to me that the doctor was looked upon as an interested party. The patient remarked to the jury that I was connected with the conspiracy against him, in which the jury seemed to concur, by giving a verdict that he was fully able to take care of himself and his property. Thus he was left by a jury of his neighbors to disprove or verify my diagnosis.

Three months passed away and another writ was issued, and the examination was ordered to be held in Canandaigua. The testimony before the second jury, disclosed conduct so licentious, expenditures of money so lavish and wasteful, in brief, a change so complete as to leave scarcely a trace of his former habits and character, and without a moment's hesitation they found him insane and a committee was appointed. The foreman of the first jury was a witness, and in sorrow admitted the grave mistake of their verdict.

As soon as the patient could be found, for he endeavored to evade pursuit, he was brought to us the second time, on the 1st of November, 1861. The excitement gradually subsided, and by the 1st of February ensuing, had quite disappeared, giving place to symptoms of approaching depression, which had been anticipated. Among the earliest indications of this change was a disposition to suicide, rapidly increasing in strength, great disturbance of the nervous centres, extreme agitation and apprehension. The digestive organs soon began to suffer from defective innervation, medicines were powerless, the delusions became terrible in their character and intensity, and in a short time all food and care were resisted with desperate energy. Medicine and food were administered forcibly for a few days, but the nervous energies were exhausted, digestion and assimilation had ceased, and the patient sank and died February 25th, ten months after the commencement of the attack.

This case furnishes a very perfect type of one phase of in-



sanity. The prominent disturbance of the emotions and propensities, with impaired self-control in the first stage; the gradual increase of mental excitement, the exaltation of ideas, and next in order, delusions; the duration of this stage of the malady, its progressive change to the state of depression, the extreme violence of the symptoms, with the impaired vitality resulting from the long continued excitement, the fatal termination, all, together, present an instructive combination of symptoms. The case presents other points of professional interest. Here was a patient, who, at the age of nineteen years had been insane, again at the the age of forty years had shown unmistakable symptoms of mental disorder, and at the age of forty-seven years attacked as I have briefly described. He was placed under professional care and soon began to convalesce; against advice and warning of the danger which threatened him, he was prematurely exposed to irritation and excitement. The disease was rekindled and progressed for three months, when a jury was called, and after examination, professional judgment, based on all the facts in the case, was again disregarded.

We have here presented a complete illustration of the difficulties surrounding the medico-legal relations of insanity in its early stages. Had this patient remained under treatment in the spring, his recovery in all probability, would have been complete. This was prevented by the injudicious action of his relatives. Again, in July, it was not too late to have saved him, but popular ignorance stood in the way in the shape of a jury of twenty-four of his neighbors, who thought that about the same extent of knowledge would suffice to enable them to judge of mind and matter, to solve an intricate question in psychological medicine, or to turn a furrow in their fields.

It will be remembered that the earliest indications in this case observable by his neighbors, pertained to the moral and emotional function. They saw excitement, anger and kindred passions, they heard the patient's reasons therefor, and believing his statement, they reached the same insane conclusions. Certain I am that ignorance, rather than wit, is

\* \* \* \* \* sure to madness near allied  
And thin partitions do their realms divide.

It is to expose this ignorance, in the light of the disastrous progress and termination wrought by it in a single case, that I have been induced to give this patient's history.—*Dr. Geo. Cook—Transactions of N. Y. State Medical Society, 1863.*

BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.—On Friday, Lord Shaftesbury brought the question of the removal of Bethlehem Hospital before the House of Lords. He founded his argument in favor of its removal on the unfitness of its present site for the cure and treatment of lunatic patients. He said that of late years great progress had been made in the treatment of insanity. Cheerful situation, open space, and plenty of means of air and exercise are now considered necessities. Agricultural pursuits for a large class of patients, and for others pleasant walks and the means of gardening, are of primary importance. The present site of Bethlehem is not more than seventeen acres, and it is situated amid a dense and rapidly increasing population. The windows of adjoining buildings overlook the gardens, and exercise in the open air free from observation is impossible. As to anything like agricultural occupation, it is manifestly out of the question, and there is no sufficient space for horticulture. The construction of the building is entirely at variance with the principles of treatment now held. Such buildings should be cheerful, open to the sun, and have nothing to depress the spirits. The present Hospital was constructed at a time when strait-waistcoats were in vogue, and every patient was immured in a gloomy cell. He alluded on these points to the published opinion of the Commissioners, and to those of Drs. Conolly and Webster. He showed that the governors, instead of being losers, would be absolutely gainers by accepting the sum of £150,000 offered to them by the governors of St. Thomas's; that they would be able to build a magnificent asylum for 500 patients constructed on modern principles, and would be left with £10,000 to £20,000 in hand. He said that an asylum ten miles from town would offer advantages for the residence of pupils. Dr. Conolly's clinical lectures at Hanwell had been largely attended, whilst the lectures given at Bethlehem and St. Luke's had few or no hearers. Another argument was that a country Hospital with the revenues of Bethlehem might receive patients above the class of paupers, but who, although able to contribute something towards their maintenance, were not in a position to pay the minimum sum required by other Asylums. The number of patients in Bethlehem, besides the criminal lunatics, rarely exceeded 200; for a series of years it had not been more than 240. With their income of £20,000 a year, the Governors ought to maintain from 480 to 500 patients; and if they admitted persons whose friends could pay a certain sum towards their maintenance, the number might be increased to 600. He concluded by moving the production of certain papers in reference to the revenues and statistics of Bethlehem.—*Medical Times and Gazette.*